

# The Legend of Euphratas

## *Some Notes on Its Origins, Development, and Significance*

VICTORIA GERHOLD

The “mysterious Euphratas,” as G. Dagron has called him, is a literary figure who features prominently in the Byzantine legend of Constantine the Great.<sup>1</sup> He would have emerged during the ninth or tenth century<sup>2</sup>—precisely the time in which the legendary

traditions concerning Constantine underwent a major development—and remained popular throughout the middle Byzantine period and even beyond.<sup>3</sup> Euphratas

1 Dagron seems to have considered that Euphratas could have been a historical figure of Constantine’s reign (G. Dagron, *Naissance d’une capitale: Constantinople et ses institutions (de 330 à 451)* [Paris, 1974], 35–36), but most authors understand him as a purely fictional character. See A. Kazhdan, “‘Constantin imaginaire’: Byzantine Legends of the Ninth Century about Constantine the Great,” *Byzantion* 57 (1987): 196–250, for Euphratas 237–39; idem, “The Medieval Constantine-Legend,” in *A History of Byzantine Literature (650–850)*, ed. A. Kazhdan (Athens, 1999), 127–36, at 134; S. Lieu, “From History to Legend and Legend to History: The Medieval and Byzantine Transformation of Constantine’s *Vita*,” in *Constantine: History, Historiography, and Legend*, ed. S. Lieu and D. Montserrat (London and New York, 1998), 136–76, for Euphratas 160–67; idem, “Constantine in Legendary Literature,” in *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Constantine*, ed. N. Lenski (New York, 2007), 298–321, for Euphratas 309–13; K. Ringrose, *The Perfect Servant: Eunuchs and the Social Construction of Gender in Byzantium* (Chicago and London, 2003), 102–7.

2 Euphratas’s first appearance in the sources can be dated with certainty to the tenth century, but the date of some sources (such as the Opitz *Vita*) is uncertain and could perhaps be slightly earlier. The fact that his figure appears to be widely known in the tenth century suggests that his legend had already been in circulation for a period of time. Yet, it is also important to note that the lack of reference to Euphratas in ninth-century sources dealing with Constantine’s life (such as Theophanes, George the Monk, or the Guidi *Vita*) is an indication that his figure would not have reached widespread circulation until the end of that century.

3 The sources that contain references to Euphratas are Pseudo-Symeon, *Chronicle* (F. Halkin, “Le règne de Constantin d’après la Chronique inédite du Pseudo-Syméon,” *Byzantion* 29–30 [1959–60]: 7–27; Kedrenos, *Comp. hist.* 2.306.2 (L. Tartaglia, ed., *Georgii Cedreni historiarum compendium* [Rome, 2016]); the anonymous chronicles attributed to Theodore Skoutariotes: *Synopsis Chronike* (K. Sathas, ed., *Μεσαιωνική Βιβλιοθήκη* 7 [Venice, 1894], 46–48, 53) and *Chronica* 2.71, 2.79 (R. Tocchi, ed., *Theodori Scutariotae Chronica* [Berlin and Boston, 2015], 60, 65); the *Patria of Constantinople* (T. Preger, ed., *Scriptores originum Constantinopolitanarum*, pt. 2 [Leipzig, 1907]; for the *Patria* I will follow A. Berger’s English translation [with minor modifications], *Accounts of Medieval Constantinople* [Cambridge, MA, and London 2013]; in all references to *Patria* I will indicate the book and chapter, which correspond both to the edition and to the English translation); the middle Byzantine *Vita Constantini* edited by F. Halkin (F. Halkin, “Une nouvelle vie de Constantin dans un légendier de Patmos,” *AB* 77 [1959]: 63–107, hereafter cited as “Halkin *Vita*”; for this *vita* I will follow M. Vermes’s English translation, which is available online at R. Pearse’s website [www.roger-pearse.com/weblog/the-halkin-life-of-constantine-in-english/, accessed 5 January 2019]; all references to the Halkin *Vita* include the edition’s page, but when the English translation is quoted the chapter number is added); and the middle Byzantine *Vita Constantini* edited, in different stages, by H. G. Opitz, J. Bidez, and F. Halkin (H.-G. Opitz, “Die *Vita Constantini* des codex Angelicus 22,” *Byzantion* 9 [1934]: 535–93; J. Bidez, “Fragments nouveaux de Philostorge sur la Vie de Constantin,” *Byzantion* 10 [1935]: 403–37, repr. in idem, *Philostorgius, Kirchengeschichte: Mit dem Leben des Lucian von Antiochien und den Fragmenten eines arianischen Historiographen*, 3rd ed., rev. ed. F. Winkelmann [Berlin, 1981]; and F. Halkin, “L’empereur Constantin converti par Euphratas,” *AB* 78

was never detached from the imaginary Constantine, yet the character gained such significance that a “legend of Euphratas”—or, as G. Dagron and S. Lieu have called it, a *Gesta Euphratae*—can be identified within the wider context of the fictional accounts devoted to the first Christian emperor. As such, it deserves to be a subject of study.

The study of the *Gesta Euphratae*, however, can prove challenging. Despite Euphratas’s popularity, none of his sources offers a comprehensive narrative of his life and deeds. His episodes are scattered among several texts (see appendix 1)—mostly historiographic and hagiographic narratives of Constantine’s reign<sup>4</sup>—that depict him in different, unconnected ways (as *parakoimomenos*, chief architect, spiritual adviser). As a result, Euphratas can only be articulated by piecing together elusive, and often inconsistent, fragments of information.

The legend of Euphratas is the result of a complex literary development. Its eclectic character is likely due to the existence of various traditions, which, though formulated at about the same time, would have depicted his figure in alternate ways and redefined his role according to different interests. Despite these challenges, it is worth attempting an explanation of its origins, configuration, and overall significance. Here I propose a tentative reconstruction of the process that led to the emergence of Euphratas’s multifaceted figure and will advance a hypothesis regarding its symbolic meaning.

### Euphratas among the “Twelve of Constantine”

According to a tradition that can be traced back at least to the fifth century, Constantine the Great summoned foreign notables to populate his new capital.<sup>5</sup>

[1960]: 5–17, hereafter cited as “Opitz Vita,” though the passages edited by Bidez or Halkin will be singled out in each case).

4 Dagron suggested that the origins of Euphratas are to be found in hagiographic literature related to Constantine I (G. Dagron, *Constantinople imaginaire: Études sur le recueil des “Patria”* [Paris, 1984], 86, n. 89), but it is likely that patriographers and even chroniclers also played a role in the development of the legend.

5 The idea that Constantine had taken measures to populate his city was already present in the fourth-century *Origo Constantini*, 6.30 (“Constantine, in memory of his famous victory, called Byzantium Constantinople, after himself. As if it were his native city, he enriched it with great assiduity, and wanted it to become the equal of Rome.

Sozomenos, one of the first authors to attest this tradition, affirms that the new arrivals came from “the elder Rome and from other nations,” and that the emperor ordered the building of “magnificent houses” to accommodate them. In a similar way, Zosimos, who knew the tradition independent of Sozomenos, states that a number of houses were built in Constantinople for the “senators who accompanied” Constantine.

In obedience to God’s command, he [Constantine] enlarged the city formerly called Byzantium, and surrounded it with high walls. Since he believed that the local population was insufficient for such a great city, he constructed magnificent houses scattered through the streets and he gave them to men of rank and their households (ἀνδρας ἐν λόγῳ σὺν τοῖς οἰκετοῖς), whom he summoned from the elder Rome and from other nations.<sup>6</sup>

When he [Constantine] had thus enlarged the original city, he built a palace scarcely inferior to the one in Rome. . . . Houses were then built for the senators (τισὶν τῶν ἐκ τῆς γερουσίας) who accompanied him.<sup>7</sup>

This early tradition, clearly meant to invest the new imperial capital with the symbolic prestige of the old one, remained popular in later centuries. Sozomenos’s testimony was directly or indirectly known to Theodore Anagnostes, Theophanes, George the Monk, the anonymous author of the *Vita Constantini* (in the edition of M. Guidi), Symeon the Logothete, Michael Attaleiates, and Kallistos Xanthopoulos.<sup>8</sup> Zosimos’s

He sought out citizens for it from everywhere”; I. König, ed., *Origo Constantini, Anonymus Valesianus*, pt. 1, *Text und Kommentar* [Trier, 1987]; English translation in S. Lieu and D. Montserrat, *From Constantine to Julian: Pagan and Byzantine Views* [London, 1996], 47–48). In this testimony, however, there is still no trace of the notion that Constantine had deliberately attempted to summon “men of rank” or “senators.”

6 Sozom., *HE* 2.3.3–4 (my translation).

7 Zosim. 2.31.1–3; I follow the English translation by R. Ridley, *Zosimus: New History* (Canberra, 1982), 38.

8 Sozomenos’s testimony may have been directly known to Anagnostes (*Historia tripartita*: G. C. Hansen, ed., *Theodoros Anagnostes: Kirchengeschichte*, 2nd ed. [Berlin, 1995], 1:27) and Kallistos Xanthopoulos, *HE* 7.48 (PG 145:1325A); Theophanes (C. de Boor, ed., *Theophanis Chronographia* [Leipzig, 1883–85; repr. Hildesheim, 1963],

testimony—or, at least, his version of the tradition—was known to the patriographers, who added that Constantine built the notables' residences "at his own expense," and through them to the anonymous author of the *Vita Constantini* (in the edition of H.-G. Opitz).<sup>9</sup>

Toward the ninth century, however, this tradition underwent two major developments.<sup>10</sup> First, the foreign notables summoned by Constantine began to be numbered as "twelve," and second, they were given identities (a name, title, and sometimes specific role in the imperial administration or the court). Whereas the number of notables rarely varies in the sources, their identities are highly fluid and follow five different lists that bear only partial resemblances to each other. Two of the earliest lists are attested by the *Patria*, and their many discrepancies suggest that they were based on different versions of the same tradition. What makes one of these lists especially significant for our purpose is its mention of the parakoimomenos Euphratas as one of the "twelve of Constantine."<sup>11</sup>

To the building of the God-protected city of Constantinople, Euphratas the parakoimomenos contributed and collaborated, I say, and Ourbikios, the praiapositos Olybrios, Isidoros,

Eustorgios, and the *protobestiarios* Michael, all of them patricians, and Honoresios the prefect, as reported by Eutychianos the chief of the Chancellery and man of letters who was also in Persia with the apostate Julian, Eutropios the sophist and letter writer of Constantine, Eleusios the deacon and philosopher, Troilos the rhetor who held many positions with great honor, and Hesychios the stenographer—they all were eyewitnesses and precise observers of the events which happened at that time.<sup>12</sup>

Constantine the Great wanted to colonize his city, and especially to bring Romans to Byzantium. So he secretly took away their rings, from each one separately, and sent them to the king of the Persians who was called Sarbaros, namely four *magistroi*, Addas, Protasios, Skombros, and Philoxenos, and eight patricians, Domninos, Probos, Dareios, Mauros, Rhodanos, Salloustios the prefect, Modestos, and Euboulos.<sup>13</sup>

The two later lists, attested respectively by Michael Glykas and Theodore Skoutariotes<sup>14</sup>—both of whom were undoubtedly relying on a patriographic source—

1:23) apparently relied on Anagnostes and was most likely the source of the *Vita Constantini* edited by M. Guidi (M. Guidi, "Un BIOS di Constantino," *Rendiconti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei, Classe di Scienze Morali, Storiche e Filologiche*, 5th ser., 16 [1907]: 304–40, 637–55, at 337, hereafter cited as "Guidi Vita"); George the Monk (C. de Boor, ed., *Georgii monachi chronicon* [Leipzig, 1904], 499–500) could have relied on Anagnostes or Theophanes; while Symeon the Logothete (*Chronicon* 88.12; S. Wahlgren, ed., *Symeon magistri et logothetae chronicon* [Berlin, 2006], 110) could have relied on Anagnostes or George the Monk. Attaleiates's source is unclear (I. Pérez Martín, *Miguel Atalíates, Historia* [Madrid, 2002], 159). These testimonies present no significant differences.

9 Similarly to Zosimos, the patriographers state that the officials and senators "accompanied" Constantine from Rome (*Pat.* 1:44), but their source for this version of the tradition remains unclear. It seems safe to assume, however, that the anonymous author of the Opitz *Vita* relied on a patriographic testimony (Opitz *Vita* 48 [574]).

10 These two developments, as it will become clear below, are first attested in the tenth century. They may have been in circulation, perhaps as oral traditions, already for some time.

11 I will analyze five lists in total. No name is mentioned in all the lists, but many are repeated in different lists. A double underline indicates a name is attested in four lists; a single underline, three lists; and an underline with dots, two lists. No underline indicates that the name is unique to the list in which it is mentioned.

12 *Pat.* 1:58. Unlike other references to the "twelve," this passage makes no reference to Constantine's willingness to bring notable Romans to Constantinople. However, the fact that Constantine's companions are twelve in number and that some of their names are repeated in other lists clearly indicates that the passage belongs to the same tradition.

13 *Ibid.*, 1:63.

14 As implied above (see n. 3), I follow the tentative attribution of the anonymous *Synopsis Chronike* (edited by K. Sathas on the basis of the fourteenth-century Venetus Marcianus graecus 407) and the anonymous *Chronica* (edited by R. Tocci on the basis of the thirteenth- to fourteenth-century Vaticanus graecus 1889) to Theodore Skoutariotes (for which see, among others, A. Heisenberg, *Analecta: Mitteilungen aus italienischen Handschriften byzantinischer Chronographen* [Munich, 1901], 3–16; R. Tocci, "Zu Genese und Kompositionsvorgang der Synopsis Chronike des Theodoros Skutariotes," *BZ* 98 [2005]: 551–68; idem, *Theodori Scutariotae Chronica*, 82\*–111\*), although it must be noted that the evidence for the attribution has been considered insufficient by several specialists (see, among others, A. Kazhdan, "Skoutariotes, Theodore," *ODB* 3:1912–13; K. Zafeiris, "The Issue of the Authorship of the *Synopsis Chronike* and Theodore Skoutariotes," *REB* 69 [2011]: 253–63; R. Macrides, *George Akropolites: The History* [Oxford, 2007], 80–71). In cases where the *Synopsis Chronike* and the *Chronica* provide different information, it is noted.

are similar to each other.<sup>15</sup> With two exceptions (Zotikos and Armatios), the names of the notables are the same, and both testimonies conclude with a brief reference to the building activities that the newcomers undertook in Constantinople. These similarities suggest that Glykas and Skoutariotes knew the same version of the tradition, though they would not have relied on a common source. It is worth noting, moreover, that these two later lists only present minor coincidences with the patriographic lists above. Three of the names given to the notables—Ourbikios, Olybrios, and Isidoros—are the same as those in *Patria* 1:58; one, Euboulos, is the same as in *Patria* 1:63; and both Glykas and *Patria* 1:63 affirm that four of the notables were magistroi and the other eight were patricians. This confirms the extreme variability of the tradition.

Seeing that his city had few inhabitants, [Constantine] the Great brought to it the most noteworthy men of Rome (τοὺς ἀξιολογωτέρους Ῥώμης). Among these were the following: Olybrios, Veros, Ourbikios, Kallistratos, Zotikos, Eugenios, Euboulos, Stoudios, Phlorentios, Maurianos, Severos and Isidoros, who built houses, churches, and hospices. . . . Four of them were magistroi, the other eight were patricians.<sup>16</sup>

The leading and great senators (συγκλητικοὶ πρῶτοι καὶ μεγιστᾶνες) that were relocated from Rome to Constantinople by the emperor were the following: Armatios, Olybrios, Veros, Severos, Ourbikios, Isidoros, Eugenios, Euboulos, Stoudios, Phlorentios, Kallistratos, and Maurianos. They also built magnificent houses, churches, homes for the elderly and hospices in the city, by order of the most divine emperor.<sup>17</sup>

15 The *Kleinchroniken* (ed. P. Schreiner, *Die byzantinischen Kleinchroniken*, vol. 1 [Vienna, 1975], 130) preserves a short patriographic notice that is almost identical to the testimony of Skoutariotes—there are only minor differences in the spelling of the names. This suggests that Skoutariotes (and Glykas, whose testimony is very similar), drew his information about the “twelve” from a patriographic source.

16 Glykas, *Chronike* (βιβλος χρονική) (I. Bekker, ed., *Annales* [Bonn, 1836], 463–64; my translation).

17 Skoutariotes, *Synopsis Chronike* (ed. Sathas, 53; my translation); cf. the shorter version in *Chronica* 2.79 (ed. Tocci, 65). There are minor differences in the spelling of the names.

In at least one version of the tradition, however, the number of “twelve” foreign notables would have eventually lost its symbolic connotation. According to the *Synaxarion of Constantinople*, fifteen Romans accompanied Constantine to the new capital. The list in the *Synaxarion* is similar to the ones attested by Glykas and Skoutariotes—the names, with only one exception (Eugenios), are the same, and the only difference between Glykas and Skoutariotes (Zotikos and Armatios) is dealt with by the inclusion of both names<sup>18</sup>—which suggests that its author relied on the same sources as they did. Yet in addition to the “twelve” already mentioned by Glykas and Skoutariotes, the *Synaxarion* cites three new names (Paulinos, Anthimos, and Sampson), none of which appears in any of the other lists (see appendix 2).

In this day, commemoration of the struggle of Saint Zotikos the Orphanotrophos. He was from the older Rome, from a respectable and illustrious family. Having been thoroughly educated from the earliest infancy, he moved, as an intelligent man, to Constantinople with Constantine the Great and was honored with the dignity of magistros. Along with him, other men of rank (τῶν ἐν τέλει) from Rome came (to Constantinople): the official of the army (Armatios?) and his nephew Paulinos, Olybrios, Veros, Severos, Marianos,<sup>19</sup> Anthimos,<sup>20</sup> Ourbikios, Isidoros, Kallistratos, Phlorentios, Euboulos, Sampson, Stoudios, and the marvelous Zotikos, whose names are still to this day given to their pious foundations.<sup>21</sup>

Clearly, these lists contain discrepancies as well as similarities. Their main point of agreement is that Constantine had twelve notables who originated in the (old) city of Rome.<sup>22</sup> The apostolic number was

18 That is, if we assume that the “official of the army” refers to Armatios.

19 I assume that he is identical to the “Maurianos” mentioned by Glykas and Skoutariotes.

20 Probably a variation of Anthemios, who is attested by *Pat.* 3:106.

21 *Synaxarion*, 31 December (*Synaxarium CP, AASS* 62; my translation).

22 The *Synaxarion* enumerates fifteen names, probably in an attempt to include all the circulating testimonies that were available



undoubtedly meant to exalt the symbolic dimension of the first Christian emperor<sup>23</sup>—who was deemed the “Thirteenth Apostle”<sup>24</sup>—but it would also have served to rewrite Constantinople’s foundation narrative. The involvement of twelve Roman notables in the development of the new capital—which was also said to have been founded in the “twelfth year” of Constantine’s reign<sup>25</sup>—reveals a willingness to combine the symbolism of old Rome with that of old Jerusalem.<sup>26</sup> Given that the new Jerusalem, as foretold in Christian eschatology, would stand on “twelve foundation stones” in evocation of the apostles (Rev 21:14), we may assume that the “twelve notables” who accompanied Constantine were meant to fulfill the biblical prophecy. In a symbolic way, the “twelve of Constantine” integrated the civic legacy of Rome with the spiritual legacy of Jerusalem, and recalled that Constantinople was heir to both.

to its author. *Pat.* 1:58 does not specify the notables’ Roman origins, but we can assume that they were tacitly implied.

23 By the time these lists were produced, the association of the apostolic number with the Byzantine imperial dignity had been spread and formalized by the proceedings of court ceremonial. During the twelve days of Christmas, for instance, the emperor offered twelve banquets, and, on each occasion, twelve guests were invited to recline with him “like the apostolic twelve” (N. Oikonomides, *Les listes de préséance byzantines des IX<sup>e</sup> et X<sup>e</sup> siècles* [Paris, 1972], 165–91; J. J. Reiske, *Constantini Porphyrogeniti imperatoris de ceremoniis aulae Byzantinae* [Bonn, 1829], 742–55).

24 For this symbolic association, already implicit in the Mausoleum of the Holy Apostles, see C. Mango, “Constantine’s Mausoleum and the Translation of Relics,” *BZ* 83, no. 1 (1990): 51–62, esp. 58–59; G. Dagron, *Empereur et prêtre: Étude sur le ‘césaropapisme’ byzantin* (Paris, 1996), 151–54.

25 As Berger has observed, the notion that Constantine had founded Constantinople during the twelfth year of his reign appeared during the middle Byzantine period (it is first attested in the ninth century), clearly in connection with the tradition about the twelve Roman notables (George the Monk [ed. de Boor, 499]; *Pat.* 1:54, 58, 59; Halkin Vita, 84 [ch. 8]; A. Berger, *Untersuchungen zu den Patria Konstantinupoleos* [Bonn, 1988], 210). As noted below, the apostolic number may have also been evoked in connection with the twelve intramural regions of Constantinople.

26 As S. Lieu has noted, the tradition regarding Constantine’s summoning of Roman notables (or, specifically senators) to Constantinople evokes the difficulties that the emperor may have encountered when attempting to establish a senatorial class in his new capital (see “Constantine in Legendary Literature,” 312). Yet, the fact that several sources insist on the number of “twelve” senators, which was clearly not enough to form a senate, indicates that these Roman notables also had a symbolic connotation.

The way Constantine’s “twelve” are depicted in the lists presents at least three major discrepancies. The first, as noted above, concerns the names given to the emperor’s companions. The second concerns the ranks, titles, and/or specific function they are said to have held in the imperial administration or the court. The third concerns the role they are said to have played in the development of Constantinople. As all these aspects can provide relevant information for our understanding of this first tradition, it is worth discussing them briefly below.

### *The Notables’ Names*

The many combinations of names show that the identity of Constantine’s companions remained fluid for several centuries. This fluidity is further illustrated by other testimonies. Salloustios and Ourbikios, who are not mentioned together in any of the previous lists (the first is attested in *Patria* 1:63, the second in the other four lists), are presented elsewhere in the *Patria* as working in concert under the orders of Constantine.<sup>27</sup> Isidoros and Euboulos, whose names are both mentioned in the lists of Glykas and Skoutariotes but have no further connection to each other, are presented elsewhere in the *Patria* as brothers.<sup>28</sup> Some of the notables are unconnected in the *Patria* to the reign of Constantine I. The brothers Isidoros and Euboulos are said to have lived under Justin I;<sup>29</sup> Eugenios, under Theodosius I;<sup>30</sup> Stoudios, under Leo I;<sup>31</sup> and Zotikos, under both Constantius II and Justin I.<sup>32</sup> Severos is elsewhere linked to Emperor Constans II.<sup>33</sup> Similarly, the *Life* of Saint Sampson contradicts his inclusion

27 *Pat.* 1:70.

28 *Ibid.*, 3:120–21; Isidoros is also said to have come from Rome “with Olybrios,” but the relationship between the two is not specified (Symeon the Logothete, *Chronicon* 130.42 [ed. Wahlgren, 230]). Kallistratos is mentioned elsewhere in the *Patria* (3:172) as being the brother of a certain Phloros, who is not attested in any of the lists above, unless he is identified with Glykas’s and Skoutariotes’s “Phlorentios,” but he may have been considered as one of the “twelve” by another version of the tradition.

29 *Ibid.*, 3:120–21.

30 *Ibid.*, 3:21.

31 *Ibid.*, 3:87.

32 *Ibid.*, 3:47–48.

33 Assuming that his figure can be identified with the “Severos” listed among Constantine’s notables (*ibid.*, 3:108).

among Constantine's twelve in the *Synaxarion* by claiming that he lived in the time of Justinian I.<sup>34</sup>

It is possible, moreover, that other figures, not mentioned in any of the previous lists but having traits in common with the "twelve," were counted among Constantine's foreign notables in alternative versions of the same tradition. Examples include the patrician Eudoxios, "the prefect of Constantine the Great," and the patrician Eleutherios, both of whom are said to have assisted the emperor during the foundation of Constantinople.<sup>35</sup> Both their connection to Constantine and their involvement in the development of the city suggest that they were part of the same corpus of legends.

### *The Notables' Ranks, Titles, and Functions*

Although most of the testimonies emphasize the Roman origin of Constantine's companions as well as the emperor's willingness to relocate them to his new capital (*Pat.* 1:63, Glykas, Skoutariotes, *Synaxarion*), they usually differ when it comes to defining their rank and function under Constantine's reign. *Patria* 1:63 states that four (Addas, Protasios, Skombros, and Philoxenos) were "magistroi" and the other eight (Domninos, Probos, Dareios, Mauros, Rhodanos, Salloustios, Modestos, and Euboulos) were "patricians," and that Salloustios was also a "prefect." Glykas repeats the same distinction between four magistroi and eight patricians without specifying which notables belonged in each group. The *Synaxarion* claims that Zotikos was honored by Constantine with the rank of "magistros" but does not mention the titles of the other notables. Skoutariotes only states that the twelve were "leading senators" in Rome, implying that they preserved their ranks in the new imperial capital. These lists focus on the notables' dignities rather than roles in the administration or the court, with the exception of Salloustios, who is associated with a specific function (prefect).

Something different happens, however, with *Patria* 1:58. Unlike the other testimonies, it specifies neither the Roman origin of Constantine's notables (though it can be considered implicit) nor the emperor's efforts to relocate them to the new capital. Yet, it devotes special attention to defining their precise functions under Constantine. Although some are

also described as "patricians" (Euphratas, Ourbikios, Olybrios, Isidoros, Eustorgios, and Michael), their dignities are less significant than their functions in the administration or the court. Some are presented as members of the imperial household, as in the case of the "parakoimomenos" Euphratas, the "protobestiarios" Michael, and the "praipositos" Olybrios, whose titles correspond to eunuch officials that were in the personal service of the emperor.<sup>36</sup> Others are connected to the civic administration and the imperial chancellery, as with the "chief of the chancellery" Eutychianos, the "letter writer" Eutropios, the "rhetor" Troilos, the "stenographer" Hesychios, and possibly the "deacon and philosopher" Eleusios, whose functions indicate for the most part secretarial and advisory roles.<sup>37</sup> Only the "prefect" Honoresios (like the "prefect" Salloustios in *Pat.* 1:63) held a title that conferred a function outside Constantine's inner circle.<sup>38</sup>

The information provided by other passages of the *Patria* shows that the titles and functions assigned to Constantine's notables were also fluid. In certain cases, the patriographic records confirm the version attested by the lists. Addas, for instance, is confirmed as a magistros, Probos and Isidoros as patricians, and Salloustios as a prefect.<sup>39</sup> Elsewhere, however, the same records provide alternate versions or simply add information that is not found in the lists. Thus, Ourbikios, who is not assigned a specific title or function in any of the lists, is mentioned in the *Patria* as a praipositos during Constantine's reign.<sup>40</sup> Olybrios, who is mentioned as a patrician and praipositos in *Patria* 1:58, is presented as a magistros (under Theodosius II not Constantine).<sup>41</sup> Zotikos, who is mentioned as a magistros in the *Synaxarion*, is presented as protobestiarios (under Justin II), and elsewhere as patrician and protobestiarios (under Constantius II).<sup>42</sup> Troilos, who

36 Oikonomides, *Listes de préséance*, 300, 305.

37 Ibid., 309–11. The secretarial functions mentioned by *Pat.* 1:58 may vaguely evoke the *sekreta*, but at least some of the dignities were inspired by the historical figures that were behind Constantine's fictional notables.

38 Oikonomides, *Listes de préséance*, 319–20.

39 *Pat.* 3:36 (Addas), 3:99 (Probos), 2:65 (Isidoros), 1:70 (Salloustios).

40 *Pat.* 1:70.

41 Ibid., 3:60. As we have seen when discussing the notables' names, the patriographers frequently associated the same figure with two or more emperors.

42 Ibid., 3:47–48.

34 PG 115:284A–92A.

35 *Pat.* 3:16 and 91.

is mentioned as a “rhetor” in *Patria* 1:58, is named as a protobestiarios (under Justin II), though it is not certain whether the same figure is being referenced.<sup>43</sup> Anthemios, Armatios, and Paulinos, whose titles are unstated or unclear in the lists, are presented as magistroi (under Marcian, Zeno, and Theodosius II, respectively).<sup>44</sup> Euboulos, Eugenios, Stoudios, Phlorentios, and Severos, whose titles are, once again, unstated or unclear in the lists, are presented as patricians (under Justin I, Theodosius I, Leo I, Arcadius, and Constans II, respectively).<sup>45</sup>

### *The Notables’ Role in the Development of Constantinople*

The various testimonies present a different understanding of the notables’ roles in the foundation of the new capital. One (*Pat.* 1:63), as we have seen, depicts them as passive figures. The patriographers, similarly to the fifth-century testimonies of Sozomenos and Zosimos, claim that Constantine had simply built residences for the Roman notables that he had relocated to his new capital. Other patriographic testimonies repeat this version with the addition of a significant detail: Constantine lodged the Roman notables in the area of Halonitzin, near the Forum Tauri. The origin of this tradition can be traced back to the *Parastaseis*, according to which Emperor Theodosius I used to receive the “leaders of the foreign nations” in the Forum of his name (or Forum Tauri).<sup>46</sup> This last notion was eventually associated with Constantine I. According to the *Patria*, Constantine had built either “palaces” (παλάτια) or a “hostel” (ξενοδοχείον) in the area of Halonitzin to lodge the “leaders of the Romans.”<sup>47</sup> In any case, it is clear that in this version of events the Romans had only come to “inhabit” the new city.

The remaining testimonies, however, credit the notables with an increasingly active role in the city’s urbanization process. *Patria* 1:58 states that Constantine’s twelve “contributed and collaborated”

in the building of the new capital, though it does not describe the nature of their involvement. Glykas, Skoutariotes, and the *Synaxarion* take this notion one step further by asserting that the emperor’s companions built houses, churches, and/or charitable foundations throughout the city. Although none of these testimonies identifies the notables’ alleged foundations, the *Synaxarion* provides a significant clue by stating that the names of the founders were still associated with their buildings in middle Byzantine Constantinople. This statement is confirmed by other sources. According to other passages of the *Patria* and Symeon the Logothete’s chronicle, Domninos, Dareios, Mauros, Rhodanos, Salloustios, Modestos, Addas, Phloros, Kallistratos, Euboulos, and Isidoros built houses in different areas of Constantinople;<sup>48</sup> Probos built the church of the Prodomos *ta Probou*; Ourbikios, a church of Saint Julian;<sup>49</sup> Olybrios, a church of Saint Euphemia; Eudoxios, the church of Saint Philemon; Eugenios, a house that he later transformed into the church of the Theotokos *ta Eugeniou*;<sup>50</sup> Stoudios, the monastery of Saint John Prodomos;<sup>51</sup> Severos, a home for the elderly;<sup>52</sup> and Zotikos, a leper house as well as “dwellings for the brethren.”<sup>53</sup> The *Synaxarion* adds that Zotikos built the hospital of the same name.

Other passages of the *Patria*, moreover, indicate that Constantine’s notables were not only credited with the construction of houses and religious buildings, but also with the development of military and civic infrastructure.<sup>54</sup> Philoxenos was said to have built

43 Ibid., 3:37.

44 Ibid., 3:106 (Anthemios), 3:61 (Armatios), 3:146 (Paulinos).

45 Ibid., 3:120 (Euboulos), 3:21 (Eugenios), 3:87 (Stoudios), 3:105 (Phlorentios), 3:108 (Severos).

46 T. Preger, *Scriptores originum Constantinopolitanarum* (Leipzig, 1901), ch. 66 (hereafter cited as *Par.*); A. Cameron et al., *Constantinople in the Early Eighth Century: The Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai* (Leiden, 1984), 146–48.

47 *Pat.* 2:47; 3:7.

48 Ibid., 1:67; 3:36, 120–21, 172. Symeon the Logothete, *Chronicon* 130.42 (ed. Wahlgren, 230).

49 The *Patria* specify that the church of the Theotokos *ta Ourbikiou* was built by “another patrician Ourbikios” who was “bearded” (i.e., not a eunuch) and lived in the time of Emperor Anastasios (*Pat.* 3:22). There was also a Gate of Ourbikios in Constantinople (*Pat.* 1:52).

50 Ibid., 1:67; 3:6, 16, 21, 60, 99.

51 Ibid., 3:87.

52 Ibid., 3:108.

53 Ibid., 3:47–48.

54 The distinction between “public” and “private” buildings appears to have been relevant to the patriographers, for it is explicitly stated in several cases. Ourbikios and Salloustios were said to have received “six hundred hundredweights of gold” from the emperor for the development of civil and military infrastructure. Olybrios and Stoudios are presented as having invested their own resources in the building and endowment of their respective religious institutions (both are said to have “bestowed much property” upon them,

the cistern of the same name.<sup>55</sup> Euboulos was credited with the building of “three gates.”<sup>56</sup> Ourbikios and Salloustios, among others,<sup>57</sup> were said to have received from Constantine six hundred hundredweights of gold to build the land walls; four porticoes “from the palace to the land walls, with spacious vaults”; and the water supply and drainage system, which comprised forty water distributors and the water supply line, brought from Bulgaria, as well as “spacious and deep wastewater channels” that were built underground to drain the “noxious substances” to the sea.<sup>58</sup> Eleutherios was said to have assisted Constantine in the construction of the harbor of that name,<sup>59</sup> and, although it is not explicitly mentioned, it is likely that the tower of Eugenios and the harbor of Eutropios were believed to be the work of those notables.

Similarly to Euboulos, Ourbikios, Salloustios, and Eugenios, who were said to have developed both private and public constructions, Euphratas was credited with undertaking various building projects. First, according to a tradition attested by the anonymous author of the *Halkin Vita*, Euphratas privately built a church dedicated to the Theotokos, which he later converted into an almshouse (πτωχοτροφείον). Pseudo-Symeon and Skoutariotes, echoing a slightly different version of the same tradition, state that Euphratas had privately built a “great house” (οἶκον ἰδίον μέγιστον), which he later turned into a home for the elderly (γηρωκομείον).<sup>60</sup> Second, according to several patriotic, hagiographic, and historiographic sources,

Euphratas worked under imperial orders to develop military, civic, and religious buildings throughout the city, such as the land walls, the water system, the imperial palace, the hippodrome, the porticoes, the senate, and numerous churches. This impressive record of public building earned him the reputation of chief architect of Constantine the Great.<sup>61</sup>



As noted above, the differences among the lists are significant. The hesitation regarding the identity of the “twelve” suggests that the various versions developed approximately at the same time—it seems unlikely that there was ever an original list—and circulated partly through oral accounts. Some of these versions would have eventually crystallized in the (alternative and/or complementary)<sup>62</sup> lists cited above, but we must not assume that these represent all the existing combinations of names, titles, and building records. Figures such as the patricians Eudoxios and Eleutherios, who are not mentioned by any of the surviving lists yet clearly share the characteristics of the “twelve,” strongly suggest that other lists of notables have not reached us. In any case, the evidence is sufficient to assert that at least one of the versions of the tradition counted a certain Euphratas among Constantine’s foreign notables.

This first clue regarding Euphratas’s elusive figure deserves to be explored, and questions are numerous and complex. What was the historical background of Euphratas’s literary character? How did he become Constantine’s legendary *parakoimomenos*? What was the meaning of his supposed role in the foundation of Constantinople? It is worth addressing these questions

cf. *ibid.*, 3:60, 87). Even Constantine is praised for having built the houses for the foreign notables “at his own expense” (*ibid.*, 1:44).

55 *Ibid.*, 1:67.

56 *Ibid.*

57 The names of the other notables are not mentioned. The wording of the passages is confusing, for the actions are first attributed to an unnamed single individual (probably Constantine) and later to Ourbikios, Salloustios, and “the others.” This ambiguity suggests that the patriographers were relying on different versions of the tradition and that they failed to edit the discrepancies when compiling their work.

58 *Ibid.*, 1:69–70.

59 *Ibid.*, 3:91.

60 *Halkin Vita*, 102; Pseudo-Symeon, *Chronicle* 16 (ed. Halkin, 27); Skoutariotes, *Synopsis Chronike* (ed. Sathas, 53) and *Chronica* 2.79 (ed. Tocci, 65). In the sources that preserve this information, Euphratas is not presented as one of the “twelve” anymore. That the foundation of the church/asylum resembles the building activities of the other notables indicates that the episode originated within this tradition.

61 Kazhdan, “Constantin imaginaire” (n. 1, above), 238. Euphratas’s role as the imperial architect seems to be the most important aspect of the legend.

62 The lists attested in *Pat.* 1:63, Glykas, Skoutariotes, and the *Synaxarion*—all of which present the notables as a group of relocated Roman dignitaries—must probably be understood as alternative versions of the same tradition. The list in *Pat.* 1:58, however, most likely represents a complementary rather than an alternative list, for it depicts the notables as Constantine’s personal assistants. The number of the emperor’s companions would have been twenty-four (see Berger, *Accounts of Medieval Constantinople* [n. 3, above], 292, n. 90). That some of the notables’ names attested by *Pat.* 1:58 appear in other lists might seem to contradict this notion, but it is worth noting that the names are never repeated in the lists preserved by the *Patria* (*Pat.* 1:58 and 1:63; see app. 2).



individually to attempt an explanation of Euphratas's place among the twelve of Constantine.

## The Origins of Euphratas

The identity of the "twelve" appears to have been elaborated according to two main strategies: the "appropriation" of historical figures who were otherwise unrelated to Constantine, and the "recreation" of historical figures whose names were associated with the topography of Constantinople. Here are a few examples of these strategies.

### *Appropriation*

Several of the names given to Constantine's notables coincide with historical figures from the fourth to the sixth century. In certain cases, the information attached to the names makes it clear that these figures were being deliberately evoked. Troilos, for instance, who is listed in *Patria* 1:58 as a "rhetor who held positions with great honor," can be identified with the fourth- to fifth-century sophist of that name.<sup>63</sup> Eutythianos, who is cited in the same source as a "chief of the chancellery and man of letters who was also in Persia with the apostate Julian," is surely the same as the fourth-century historian of that name who took part in Julian's expedition.<sup>64</sup> Eutropios, who is identified in *Patria* 1:58 as a "sophist and letter writer of Constantine," is probably meant to evoke the fourth-century historian of that name.<sup>65</sup> The patrician Stoudios clearly evokes the fifth-century figure of same rank and name,<sup>66</sup> while Zotikos and Sampson are evidently to be identified with the respective saints of those names.

In other cases, the information attached to the names is imprecise or misleading, but an identification seems possible nevertheless. The "praipositos" Olybrios might be identified with Anicius Olybrios, Western Roman Emperor in 472 and husband of Placidia, the youngest daughter of Valentinian III.<sup>67</sup> As suggested by

A. Berger, Eleusios, the "deacon and philosopher," could correspond to the fourth-century bishop of Kyzikos; the "stenographer" Hesychios could be identified with the sixth-century author of the *Patria*; and the "prefect" Honoresios could be meant to evoke Honoratos, the fourth-century prefect of Constantinople.<sup>68</sup>

In the remaining cases, where no significant information is added to the names, any identification remains highly speculative. Probos may evoke a fourth-century consul of the same name;<sup>69</sup> Mauro, the fourth-century *comes rei militaris*;<sup>70</sup> Eugenios, the fourth-century philosopher;<sup>71</sup> Salloustios, the fourth-century praetorian prefect;<sup>72</sup> Rhodanos, the fourth-century praipositos of Emperor Valentinian I;<sup>73</sup> Domninos, a fourth-century senator in Constantinople;<sup>74</sup> Phlorentios, Modestos, and Isidoros, fourth- and fifth-century prefects;<sup>75</sup> Paulinos, the fifth-century *magister officiorum* of Theodosius II;<sup>76</sup> Anthemios, a fifth-century praetorian prefect under Emperors Arcadius and Theodosius II, or the fifth-century Western Roman Emperor in 467–472;<sup>77</sup> Ourbikios, the influential fifth-century praipositos that served under various emperors;<sup>78</sup> Maurianos, the fifth-century astrologer of

68 Eleusios, *PLRE* 1:277; Honoresios (= Honoratos), *PLRE* 1:439; Berger, *Untersuchungen*, 213–14; idem, *Accounts of Medieval Constantinople*, 292, n. 90. Hesychios may also evoke a fourth- or fifth-century orator, *PLRE* 1:429.

69 *PLRE* 1:736–40; Berger, *Untersuchungen*, 745.

70 *PLRE* 1:570; Berger, *Untersuchungen*, 222.

71 *PLRE* 1:292. The "Eugenios" mentioned elsewhere in the *Patria* (3:21) is identified by Berger with the usurper of the years 392–394 (*Untersuchungen*, 742; *PLRE* 1:293), so this may also have been the historical figure behind Constantine's companion.

72 *PLRE* 1:814–7; Berger, *Untersuchungen*, 222. Malalas (followed by later sources) mentions both Rhodanos and Saloutios (called Salloustios by later authors) in connection with a judicial case during the reign of Valentinian I (13.31; J. Thurn, ed., *Ioannis Malalae Chronographia* [Berlin and New York, 2000], 262–63). That the list of notables in *Pat.* 1:63 mentions these two names in succession suggests that they were drawn together from one of the sources describing this trial.

73 *PLRE* 1:764; Berger, *Untersuchungen*, 422–23.

74 *PLRE* 1:265–6; Berger, *Untersuchungen*, 443.

75 Modestos, *PLRE* 1:605–8; Phlorentios, *PLRE* 2:478–80; Isidoros, *PLRE* 2:631–33; Berger, *Untersuchungen*, 222, 401, 627.

76 *PLRE* 2:846–47; Berger, *Untersuchungen*, 671–73.

77 *PLRE* 2:93–98; Berger, *Untersuchungen*, 507.

78 *PLRE* 2:1188–89; Berger, *Untersuchungen*, 404.

63 *PLRE* 2:1128; Berger, *Untersuchungen* (n. 25, above), 214; idem, *Accounts of Medieval Constantinople*, 292, n. 90.

64 *PLRE* 1:319; Berger, *Untersuchungen*, 213, 223; idem, *Accounts of Medieval Constantinople*, 292, n. 90.

65 *PLRE* 1:317; Berger, *Untersuchungen*, 213, 223; idem, *Accounts of Medieval Constantinople*, 292, n. 90.

66 *PLRE* 2:1037; Berger, *Untersuchungen*, 363.

67 *PLRE* 2:796–98; Berger, *Untersuchungen*, 496.

Emperor Zeno;<sup>79</sup> Euboulos, the fifth-century quaestor and prefect;<sup>80</sup> Armatios, the fifth-century general of Emperor Basiliskos;<sup>81</sup> and Philoxenos, the sixth-century *comes* and *magister militum*.<sup>82</sup> Eustorgios, as Berger has suggested, may evoke the fourth-century sophist and historian Eustochios.<sup>83</sup>

Could Euphratas have also been based on a historical figure? A. Kazhdan identified two historical individuals of the same name: a bishop who lived in the time of Constantius II, and a eunuch of Abasgian origin who served in Justinian I's court. The legendary depiction of Euphratas presents traits that evoke each of these men.<sup>84</sup> In the first case, one version of the legend affirms that Euphratas (like the bishop of the same name) lived part of his life under Constantius II.<sup>85</sup> In the second case, the legend states that Euphratas (like the Abasgian of the same name) was a eunuch serving in the imperial court.<sup>86</sup> Although no direct connection can be made between either of these individuals and the legendary Euphratas, it is quite possible that the latter was inspired by Justinian's servant. Prokopios states that the sixth-century (historical) Euphratas held a prominent position in court—he was the chief of the palace eunuchs (ἄρχων τῶν ἐν Παλατίῳ εὐνούχων)—and was a close collaborator of the emperor—he was

sent by Justinian as an ambassador to the Abasgians.<sup>87</sup> Moreover, the sixth-century Euphratas was wealthy, which could have helped promote and even perpetuate his name in Constantinople by inscribing it in the topography of the capital. Given that the legendary Euphratas shares several traits with the sixth-century eunuch, we may well suspect that the latter provided the historical basis for the emergence of Constantine's fictional servant.

### Recreation

Constantine's notables were credited with participating in the development of the new city, and many civic, military, and religious buildings, as well as numerous areas of the city, carried names identical to the ones the patriographers attributed to Constantine's legendary companions. These buildings and the eponym-toponym equivalences can be tabulated (table 1).<sup>88</sup>

That so many of Constantine's notables were associated with buildings and/or areas of Constantinople is no coincidence. The connection between the emperor's companions, who were believed to have played a major role in the city's development, and the topography of the capital suggests that their identity was frequently "recreated"<sup>89</sup> based on the information provided by the urban landscape. In that sense, most of the notables' names were just eponyms drawn from toponyms,<sup>90</sup> and

79 PLRE 2:737; Berger also suggests an alternative identification with a seventh-century military commander, *Untersuchungen*, 442.

80 PLRE 2:403; Berger, *Untersuchungen*, 397.

81 PLRE 2:148–49; Berger, *Untersuchungen*, 498.

82 PLRE 2:879–80; Berger, *Untersuchungen*, 617.

83 PLRE 1:313; Berger, *Untersuchungen*, 213. For a tentative identification of other figures, such as Addas and Dareios, see Berger, *Untersuchungen*, 435, 579.

84 A. Kazhdan, "Constantin imaginaire" (n. 1, above), 237. Bishop Euphratas is mentioned by Theodoret of Cyrillus, *HE* 2.7; Anagnostes, *Historia tripartita* (ed. Hansen, 2:78); Photios, *Homily* 15 (B. Laourdas, ed., *Φωτίου Ομιλίαι* [Thessalonica, 1966], 147–48); and Kallistos Xanthopoulos, *HE* 9.33 (PG 146:320A). Euphratas the eunuch is mentioned by Evagrius, *HE* 4.22 (J. Bidez and L. Parmentier, eds., *The Ecclesiastical History of Evagrius with the Scholia* [London, 1898], 170); Prokopios, *SH* 29.13 and *Wars* 8.3.19; and Kallistos Xanthopoulos, *HE* 17.13 (PG 147:256A).

85 Halkin Vita, 102. A different version states that Euphratas's death took place during Constantine's reign (see Pseudo-Symeon, *Chronicle* 16 [ed. Halkin, 27]).

86 That the legendary Euphratas was a eunuch is implied by his title of parakoimomenos (attested by *Pat.* 1:58). As we will see below, this is not made explicit by all of the traditions concerning his figure.

87 Prokopios, *SH* 29.13; *Wars* 8.3.19.

88 I only include in the list the buildings that the patriographers mention directly or indirectly in connection with Constantine's notables. We know, thanks to other sources, that the same names are sometimes connected to other buildings (e.g., Anthemios and the church of Saint Thomas, Veros and the Theotokos of Veros, etc.), but, since we do not know whether these connections were known to the patriographers, I did not include them (for a systematic discussion of the issue, see Berger, *Untersuchungen*).

89 The practice of "creating" and "recreating" figures from topographical information is widespread in patriographic traditions. We may speak of "creation" when there is no historical person behind the topographical reference, as, for example, in the case of the "tyrant Zeuxippos" (based on the ancient bath of Zeuxippos, or Zeus Hippios), who, according to the legend of the apostle Saint Andrew, persecuted the Christians in early Byzantium). We may speak of "recreation" when there is a historical person behind the topographic reference, even if he or she had been forgotten.

90 The patriographers were right, of course, in assuming that many of the toponyms of Constantinople were drawn from eponyms. The process of fictionalization, however, began with the assertion that those eponyms corresponded to Constantine's notables (or, as they

the same toponymia that served to elaborate their identities would have also inspired the roles that they were thought to have played as the developers of the city.

Could Euphratas's figure have also been inspired by the topography of the capital? That is likely to have been the case. The testimonies of Pseudo-Symeon, the Halkin Vita, and Skoutariotes state that Constantinople had a church and charitable foundation known as the Theotokos *ta Euphrata*,<sup>91</sup> which lay within (or near) the greater area of the Leomakellon or Dimakellon.

Euphratas, the one who had built it [the Great Church], had passed away in his own house, which is now a home for the elderly in the so-called Dimakellon (ἐν τῷ λεγομένῳ Διμακέλλῳ) commonly referred to as “*ta Euphrata*” (τὰ Εὐφρατᾶ ἰδιωτικῶς λεγόμενα).<sup>92</sup>

But Euphratas also built privately a great house, which later became a home for the elderly, in the site of the Dimakellon (ἐν τῇ τοποθεσίᾳ τοῦ Διμακέλλου [ed. Sathas]/ ἐν τῷ Διμακελλίῳ [ed. Tocci]), called “of Euphratas” (τοῦ Εὐφρατᾶ καλουμένου [ed. Sathas]<sup>93</sup>/καλούμενον οὕτω, τὰ Εὐφρατᾶ [ed. Tocci]) to this day.<sup>94</sup>

Now Euphratas had reached an advanced age, and as he had built inside the city near to the wall facing Thrace a church dedicated to the Virgin Mary, he made this into an almshouse and there reached the end of his life. Some of the locals call this church situated near the Leomakellon (πλησίον τοῦ Λεωμακελλίου) “*ta Euphrata*” (τὰ Εὐφρατᾶ).<sup>95</sup>

The location of the Dimakellon/Leomakellon<sup>96</sup> is rather problematic. R. Janin, who considered “Leomakellon” and “Dimakellon” to be alternative names for the same area, located it in the south-central part of Constantinople.<sup>97</sup> Later on, A. Berger, who also understood the two names as referring to the same location, suggested that it was in the north-central part of the city, below the Golden Horn.<sup>98</sup> Berger's views remain widely accepted, but, more recently, topographical findings have raised new questions about the location. In his study of the Venetian quarter during the Latin occupation of Constantinople, D. Jacoby has found evidence that the Dimakellon was south of the aqueduct of Valens, near the Forum Tauri.<sup>99</sup> On the basis of Jacoby's findings, E. Kislinger also concluded that the area must have been north or northwest of the Forum Tauri.<sup>100</sup> Both Jacoby and Kislinger have dealt

themselves put it, that the “sites received their names from the names <of the Romans>,” *Pat.* 1:67).

91 For this area, see Kazhdan, “Constantin imaginaire,” 237; R. Janin, *Constantinople byzantine* (Paris, 1964), 350–51.

92 Pseudo-Symeon, *Chronicle* 16 (ed. Halkin, 27; my translation).

93 Halkin (at Halkin Vita, 102, n. 2) raises the question of whether the participle καλουμένου in Sathas's edition should be read as a genitive, as the text presents it, or as an accusative (καλούμενον). In the first instance, it would mean that the name “of Euphratas” is given to the area of the Dimakellon; in the second, that it is given to the house turned into a home for the elderly. We already know, thanks to the Halkin Vita and to Tocci's edition of Skoutariotes, that the “home” (or “church”) received that name, but that does not mean that Sathas's text needs emendation. The *Kleinchroniken* preserves a version that is independent yet almost identical to that of Sathas, in which the participle is also in the genitive. The most likely explanation is that both the charitable foundation/church and the area (located within the greater region of the Dimakellon) were known as “of Euphratas” or *ta Euphrata*.

94 Skoutariotes, *Synopsis Chronike* (ed. Sathas, 53) and *Chronica* 2.79 (ed. Tocci, 65; my translation). Skoutariotes's testimony is repeated in almost identical terms in the *Kleinchroniken*.

95 Halkin Vita, 102 (ch. 20). Unlike Pseudo-Symeon and Skoutariotes, who only refer to the charitable foundation, the Halkin Vita mentions the church and its denomination.

96 For the etymology and paretyymology of the area's name, see Janin, *Constantinople*, 343, 379–89; Berger, “Zur Topographie der Ufergegend am Goldenen Horn in der byzantinischen Zeit,” *IstMitt* 45 (1995): 149–65, at 152–53; E. Kislinger, “Lebensmittel in Konstantinopel: Notizen zu den einschlägigen Markorten der Stadt,” in *Byzantina mediterranea: Festschrift für Johannes Koder zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. K. Belke et al. (Böhlau, 2007), 303–18, at 316.

97 Janin, *Constantinople*, 343, 379–80. See also Byzantios (*Κωνσταντινούπολις* [Athens, 1851], 1:438–39) and A. S. Mordtmann (*Esquisse topographique de Constantinople* [Lille, 1892], 72), who suggested a location in west-central Constantinople (near the Forum of Constantine), and in east-central Constantinople (to the west of the Forum Tauri), respectively.

98 Berger, “Ufergegend,” 152–55.

99 D. Jacoby, “The Venetian Quarter of Constantinople from 1082 to 1261: Topographical Considerations,” in *Novum millennium*, ed. C. Sode and S. Takács (Aldershot and Burlington, 2001), 153–70, at 166–67.

100 Kislinger, “Lebensmittel,” 312–14.

Table 1. Links between Notables, Buildings, and Areas

Constantine's Notables	Buildings	Areas <sup>1</sup>
Addas	Houses	<i>ta Adda</i> <sup>2</sup>
Anthemios	House	<i>ta Anthemiou</i> <sup>3</sup>
Armatios	House	<i>ta Armatiou</i> <sup>4</sup>
Dareios	House (identified with the <i>hikanatissa</i> of Skleros in the tenth century)	<i>ta Dareiou</i> <sup>5</sup>
Domninos	Porticoes of Domninos House (owned by Agrikolaos in the tenth century)	<i>ta Dominou</i> <sup>6</sup>
Eleutherios	Port of Eleutherios Palace of Eleutherios	<i>ta Eleutheriou</i> <sup>7</sup>
Euboulos	Gates of Euboulos House	<i>ta Euboulou</i> <sup>8</sup>
Eudoxios	Church of Saint Philemon <sup>9</sup>	
Eugenios	Church of the Theotokos Tower of Eugenios	<i>ta Eugenion</i> <sup>10</sup>
Eutropios	Port of Eutropios	<i>ta Eutropiou</i> <sup>11</sup>
Isidoros	Residence for the elderly and church	<i>ta Isidorou</i> <sup>12</sup>
Kallistratos	House	<i>ta Kallistratou</i> <sup>13</sup>
Maurianos	Porticoes of Maurianos	<i>ta Maurianou</i> <sup>14</sup>
Mauros	House (owned by Belonas in the tenth century)	<i>ta Maurou</i> <sup>15</sup>

<sup>1</sup> By “areas” I refer to what P. Magdalino defined as “the focal unit to bear the name of a previous proprietor or developer.” These units, as defined by Magdalino, “could consist of a single building or a complex of buildings, and it could be religious or secular, but in all cases the formula was the same: *ta* plus a personal name in the genitive form” (“Neighbourhoods in Byzantine Constantinople” (n. 109, below), 27; Berger describes the same phenomenon in *Untersuchungen*, 166–73).

<sup>2</sup> *Pat.* 3:36. The area was east of the harbor of Sophia (Berger, *Untersuchungen*, 579–80).

<sup>3</sup> *Pat.* 3:106. The area would have been near the church of Saint Mokios (Berger, *Untersuchungen*, 507–8).

<sup>4</sup> *Pat.* 6:61. The area was below the shore of the Golden Horn, northwest of Zeugma (Berger, *Untersuchungen*, 498–99).

<sup>5</sup> *Pat.* 1:67. The area would have been west of the Forum of Constantine (Berger, *Untersuchungen*, 434–35). For the elusive reference to the *hikanatissa*, see *ibid.*, 225, 434.

<sup>6</sup> *Pat.* 1:67. The area would have been northwest of the Forum of Constantine, between the Mese and the Golden Horn. Berger has identified the owner’s house as Patriarch Nicholas Mystikos (907, 912–25), who is mentioned in the *Life* of Saint Basil the Younger under the surname “Agrikolaos” (*Untersuchungen*, 225).

<sup>7</sup> *Pat.* 3:91, 173. The area would have been west of the harbor of Theodosius (Berger, *Untersuchungen*, 582).

<sup>8</sup> *Pat.* 1:67; 3:120. The area would have been near Hagia Sophia (Berger, *Untersuchungen*, 397–99).

<sup>9</sup> *Pat.* 3:16. The church was located in the Strategion (Berger, *Untersuchungen*, 741).

<sup>10</sup> *Pat.* 1:52–53; 3:21. The area was located in the far northeast of the city, below the Golden Horn (Berger, *Untersuchungen*, 742–43).

<sup>11</sup> *Pat.* 3:166, 185. The toponym may evoke an area outside Constantinople, between Chalcedon and Hiereia (Berger, *Untersuchungen*, 718; K. Belke, “Tore nach Kleinasien: Die Konstantinopel gegenüberliegenden Häfen Chalcedon, Chrysopolis, Hiereia und Eutropiu Limen,” in *Die byzantinischen Häfen Konstantinopels*, ed. F. Daim [Mainz, 2016], 161–71, at 169–70 and map at 164).

<sup>12</sup> *Pat.* 3:121. The area was probably northwest of Hagia Sophia and Saint Irene (Berger, *Untersuchungen*, 401).

<sup>13</sup> *Pat.* 3:172. The area’s location is uncertain (Berger, *Untersuchungen*, 677–78).

<sup>14</sup> Perhaps to be identified with *ta Dominou* (see Berger, *Untersuchungen*, 443–44).

<sup>15</sup> *Pat.* 1:67. The area was west of the harbor of Sophia (Berger, *Untersuchungen*, 222). For Belonas, see *ibid.*, 225.



Table 1. *continued*

Constantine's Notables	Buildings	Areas <sup>1</sup>
Michael	Gate of the protobestiarios Michael <sup>16</sup>	
Modestos	Cistern of Modestos House (owned by Lampros in the tenth century)	<i>ta Modestou</i> <sup>17</sup>
Olybrios	Church of Saint Euphemia	<i>ta Olybriou</i> <sup>18</sup>
Ourbikios	Church of Saint Julian Land walls, porticoes, water system, gate	<i>ta Ourbikiou</i> <sup>19</sup>
Paulinos		<i>ta Paulinou</i> <sup>20</sup>
Philoxenos	Cistern of Philoxenos	<i>ta Philoxenou</i> <sup>21</sup>
Phlorentios		<i>ta Phlorentiou</i> <sup>22</sup>
Phloros	House	<i>ta Phlorou</i> <sup>23</sup>
Probos	Church of the Prodomos	<i>ta Probou</i> <sup>24</sup>
Protasios		<i>ta Protasiou</i> <sup>25</sup>
Rhodanos	House called <i>ta Euouranes</i> (owned by Mamaina in the tenth century)	<i>ta Rhodanou</i> <sup>26</sup>
Salloustios	House (owned by Kontomytes in the tenth century) Land walls, porticoes, water system	<i>ta Salloustiou</i> <sup>27</sup>
Sampson	Hospital of Sampson	<i>ta Sampson</i> <sup>28</sup>
Severos	Home for the elderly	<i>ta Severiana</i> <sup>29</sup>
Stoudios	Monastery of Stoudios	<i>ta Stoudiou</i> <sup>30</sup>
Zotikos	Hospital of Zotikos and Orphanotropheion <sup>31</sup>	
(Lausos?)	Palace of Lausos <sup>32</sup>	

<sup>16</sup> *Pat.* 1:58. Berger has noted that the accounts of Constantine Doukas's revolt of the year 913 mention a "gate of the protobestiarios Michael," located in the sea walls near the Acropolis, which was clearly the basis for the legendary "protobestiarios Michael" that *Pat.* 1:58 mentions among Constantine's notables. That the *Patria* contains another reference to the rebels of 913 may suggest, as Berger has argued, that the patriographers relied on a source that narrated Constantine Doukas's uprising (*Untersuchungen*, 213, 224–25).

<sup>17</sup> *Pat.* 1:67. The area was near the church of the Holy Apostles (Berger, *Untersuchungen*, 222). For Lampros, see *ibid.*, 226.

<sup>18</sup> *Pat.* 3:60. The area was north of the Philadelphion (Berger, *Untersuchungen*, 497).

<sup>19</sup> *Pat.* 3:6. The church of Saint Julian would not have been in the area known as *ta Ourbikiou* (near the Strategion), but west of the port of Sophia (Berger, *Untersuchungen*, 497, 586–87).

<sup>20</sup> The area would have been northwest of Constantinople (Berger, *Untersuchungen*, 672–73).

<sup>21</sup> *Pat.* 1:67. The area would have been near the Forum of Constantine and the palace of Lausos (Berger, *Untersuchungen*, 616–17).

<sup>22</sup> *Pat.* 3:105. The area may have been near the Acropolis, but this location is far from certain (Berger, *Untersuchungen*, 627–28).

<sup>23</sup> *Pat.* 3:172. The area's location is uncertain (Berger, *Untersuchungen*, 677–78).

<sup>24</sup> *Pat.* 3:99. The area would have been near the harbor of Sophia (Berger, *Untersuchungen*, 745–46).

<sup>25</sup> *Pat.* 3:23. The area would have been near the Strategion (Berger, *Untersuchungen*, 404).

<sup>26</sup> *Pat.* 1:67. The area would have been east of Hagia Sophia (Berger, *Untersuchungen*, 422). For Mamaina, see *ibid.*, 226.

<sup>27</sup> *Pat.* 1:67. The area's location is unknown (Berger, *Untersuchungen*, 222). For Kontomytes, see *ibid.*, 226.

<sup>28</sup> The area was near Hagia Sophia and Saint Irene (Berger, *Untersuchungen*, 398, 400).

<sup>29</sup> *Pat.* 3:108. The area would have been northwest of Constantinople, near the cistern of Aspar (Berger, *Untersuchungen*, 526–27).

<sup>30</sup> *Pat.* 3:87. The area was southeast of Constantinople, above the sea of Marmara, between the walls of Constantine and Theodosius (Berger, *Untersuchungen*, 363–65).

<sup>31</sup> *Pat.* 3:47–48. The leprosarium of Zotikos was in Pera, while the Orphanotropheion was inside the city, near the Acropolis (T. Miller and W. Nesbitt, *Walking Corpses: Leprosy in Byzantium and the Medieval West* [Ithaca and London, 2014], 77).

<sup>32</sup> The "house of Lausos" is mentioned in *Pat.* 2:36 as "one of the twelve of Constantine the Great," yet, in the same passage, the patrician Lausos is himself explicitly dissociated from Constantine (he is said to have lived in the times of Arcadius). It is not uncommon for the patriographers to place the same figure in different historical contexts, so it is possible that an alternative tradition considered Lausos to have been one of Constantine's twelve.

with the discrepancy between Berger's location of the Leomakellon below the Golden Horn and the new evidence (which places the Dimakellon further south) by assuming that "Leomakellon" and "Dimakellon" were two different areas: the Leomakellon would have been located below the Golden Horn, whereas the Dimakellon would have been near the Forum Tauri, to the north of the Mese.<sup>101</sup> The evidence provided by Pseudo-Symeon, Skoutariotes, and the Halkin Vita, however, shows that this could not have been the case. These sources use the terms interchangeably when indicating the position of *ta Euphrata*, which means that "Leomakellon" and "Dimakellon" must necessarily be understood as alternate names for the same area.<sup>102</sup> This reopens the problem of the Leomakellon/Dimakellon's location, because it becomes necessary to account in a different way for the new topographical information brought forward by Jacoby's Venetian sources.

Although the location of *ta Euphrata* is not crucial for our analysis—it is enough for us to know that there was an area of that name in Constantinople—it is worth a brief digression to discuss the evidence concerning the area's position within the city. I begin by systematizing the topographical referents that provide relevant information.

Known topographical referents for *ta Euphrata*:

The land wall of Constantine (Halkin Vita).

The Leomakellon/Dimakellon (Pseudo-Symeon, Skoutariotes, Halkin Vita).

Known topographical referents for the Leomakellon/Dimakellon:

The aqueduct of Valens (Venetian documents).

The Forum Tauri (Venetian documents).

The coastline with the Heptaskalon (*Enkomion* of Saint Theodosia).

A marketplace (*Patria, Life* of Saint Theodosia, Tzetzes).

A church of Saint Akakios (*Enkomion* of Saint Theodosia).

The Forum Bovis (Saint Theodosia's hagiographic dossier).

A church of the Goths (*Chron. Pasch.*).

On the basis of this information, we can consider the four topographical referents that provide unambiguous information regarding either *ta Euphrata* or the nearby Leomakellon/Dimakellon. The first is the land wall of Constantine. According to the Halkin Vita, the church of the Theotokos *ta Euphrata* was "near the wall facing Thrace" (πλησίον τοῦ πρὸς τῇ Θράκῃ τείχους), which indicates a spot east of the Constantinian land wall circuit. The second is the coastline. According to the hagiographic dossier devoted to Saint Theodosia, the saint was martyred within the Leomakellon, near a dock known as the Heptaskalon, which indicates that the area had a coastline either in the southern or northern part of the city. The third is the aqueduct of Valens, which is identified by a Venetian contract as representing the northern border of a property within the Dimakellon. The fourth is the area of Halonitzin, near the Forum Tauri, which is mentioned in the same Venetian contract as being adjacent to some other properties within the Dimakellon. These four referents reveal an area of significant size with a western border at some distance from the Constantinian land wall, an eastern border near the Forum Tauri, and which extended to the south of the aqueduct of Valens on one side and along the (southern or northern) shore on the other. Yet, even if the eastern and western limits of the area are relatively clear, its northern and southern limits are less so. Should we assume that the Dimakellon/Leomakellon had its northern limits in the aqueduct of Valens and stretched toward the south until the Sea of Marmara? Or that its southern limit was around the Mese and extended toward the north until the Golden Horn's shore?

The answer lies with the remaining topographical referents, which, for the most part, tend to be equivocal. To assess the information that they provide and to evaluate how it can be connected with the previously mentioned referents, I will discuss each one briefly.

101 Jacoby, "Venetian Quarter," 166–67; Kislinger, "Lebensmittel," 316.

102 In fact, Pseudo-Symeon, Skoutariotes, and the Halkin Vita are not the only sources that prove the identification of the Dimakellon with the Leomakellon. In *Pat.* 3:104, the patriographers claim that "the so-called Dimakellin (τὸ δὲ λεγόμενον Διμακέλιν) received its name because Emperor Leo the Great sold meat there, and his wife plaited gut strings." It is clear that, for the pun to make sense, the Dimakellin and the Leomakellon ("the market of [Emperor] Leo") must necessarily be the same.

## THE MARKETPLACE

The etymology of the term Dimakellon/Leomakellon indicates that the area was (or at least contained within it) a meat market (*makellon*).<sup>103</sup> Other testimonies, such as that of John Tzetzes, who mentions a goldsmith and a perfumer within the same area, confirm that the Dimakellon/Leomakellon was a busy commercial district.<sup>104</sup> But what of its location? The fifth-century *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae* identifies four meat markets in the city: two were in Region V and two in Region VIII.<sup>105</sup> The tenth-century *Book of the Eparch* indicates that this location remained the same throughout the centuries, for it places the middle Byzantine commerce of meat both in the area of the Strategion (Region V of the *Notitia*) and in the Forum Tauri (Region VIII of the *Notitia*).<sup>106</sup> Jacoby's Venetian documents place the Dimakellon in the same area in which both the *Notitia* and the *Book of the Eparch* locate one of the city's *makella* (Region VIII, near the Forum Tauri), which strongly suggests that all three sources refer to the same marketplace. This is consistent with Tzetzes's depiction of the Leomakellon

as part of a busy market area,<sup>107</sup> for the eastern and central sections of the Mese are known to have been a major commercial district.<sup>108</sup>

During the last decades, however, the identification of such an area in the northern section of the city has substantiated the notion that the Dimakellon/Leomakellon could have been below the Golden Horn.<sup>109</sup> The existence of a marketplace (the Basilike Market) in the north of Constantinople, which was especially active during the middle and late Byzantine eras due to the increasing Latin presence in the area, is well documented, but, as G. Majeska and M. Mundell Mango have shown, its location corresponds to the eastern part of the coast (in the vicinity of the Neorion harbor and the Strategion)<sup>110</sup> rather than to its

103 According to the *Life of Saint Theodosia* (S. Kotzabassi, *Das hagiographische Dossier der heiligen Theodosia von Konstantinopel* [Berlin and New York, 2009], sec. 28), the place drew its name from the presence of numerous butcher shops (τὴν Λεωμακέλλου κλήσιν λαχών, ἀπό τε τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ πολλῶν μακέλλων). For the use of the term *makellon* to describe a meat (and usually fish) market, see M. Mundell Mango, "The Commercial Map of Constantinople," *DOP* 54 (2000): 189–207, at 200. The notion that the market had a connection with Emperor Leo I, however suggestive, cannot be proved. The *Patria* certainly claim that the area had taken the name from Leo, who "sold meat there" (*Pat.* 3:104), but, as Berger has noted, this is only a paretyymology based on the emperor's nickname of *Makelles* ("the Butcher"). Berger has suggested that the area's name could mean "people's market" (*Accounts of Medieval Constantinople* [n. 3, above], 316, n. 115).

104 P. L. M. Leone, *Ioannis Tzetzae epistolae* (Leipzig, 1972), 85, ep. 58.

105 O. Seeck, *Notitia dignitatum* (Berlin, 1876), 229–43, at 234 and 236.

106 J. Koder, *Das Eparchenbuch Leons des Weisen* (Vienna, 1991), 15:5, 16:2. The live cattle market was at the Amastrianon (ibid., 21). See P. Magdalino, "Constantinople médiévale: Études sur l'évolution des structures urbaines," *TM* (1996): 26–27; idem, "The Maritime Neighborhoods of Constantinople: Commercial and Residential Functions, Sixth to Twelfth Centuries," *DOP* 54 (2001): 209–26, at 214–15; Mundell Mango, "Commercial Map," 193–94, 199–200 (and maps 4 and 22); T. Thomov and A. Ilieva, "The Shape of the Market: Mapping the Book of the Eparch," *BMGS* 22, no. 1 (1998): 105–16, at 110 (and map at 116).

107 One of the markets in Region VIII, which would have had its western border between the Forum of Constantine and the Forum Tauri, can perhaps be identified with the *makellon* mentioned by Sokrates as being "behind the Forum of Constantine" (ὀπισθεν τῆς ἀγορᾶς Κωνσταντίνου καὶ τοῦ ἐν τῇ στοᾷ μακέλλου) (P. Maraval and P. Périchon, *Socrate de Constantinople: Histoire ecclésiastique* [Paris, 2004], 1:38). See, however, Mundell Mango, "Commercial Map," 193; Kislinger, "Lebensmittel," 314.

108 For which see, among others, Mundell Mango, "Commercial Map"; Thomov and Ilieva, "Shape of the Market"; and Magdalino, "Constantinople médiévale," 22–26.

109 Originally suggested by A. Berger ("Ufergegend," 152–55 [and map at 151]), and widely accepted to this day (see, among others, P. Magdalino, "Aristocratic *oikoi* in the Tenth and Eleventh Regions of Constantinople," in *Byzantine Constantinople: Monuments, Topography, and Everyday Life*, ed. N. Necipoğlu [Leiden, 2001], 53–69, at 65; idem, "Maritime Neighbourhoods," 221; idem, "Neighbourhoods in Byzantine Constantinople," in *Hinter den Mauern und auf dem offenen Land Leben im Byzantinischen Reich*, ed. F. Daim and J. Drauschke [Mainz, 2016], 23–30, at 28 [and map at 27]; J. Preiser-Kapeller, "Heptaskalon und weitere Anlegestellen am Goldenen Horn," in *Die byzantinischen Häfen Konstantinopels*, ed. F. Daim [Mainz, 2016], 99–108).

110 Mundell Mango places this market (called "Basilike Market" by a late Russian traveler) in the area of the modern Spice Bazaar ("Commercial Map," 205–6); similarly, G. Majeska places it at the end of the porticoes of Maurianos, near Perama and the Basilike Gate (which he identifies with the Gate of Saint John *de cornibus*, modern Zindankapı), following J. Pargoire ("Constantinople: La porte Basilikè," *EO* 9, no. 56 [1906]: 30–32; Majeska, *Russian Travelers to Constantinople in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries* [Washington, 1984], 353–54). This location is clearly further east than the one suggested by Berger, and, given its great distance to the land walls, could not be identified as part of the Dimakellon/Leomakellon.

center.<sup>111</sup> And, even if commercial activity seems to have gradually increased in the north-central section of the Golden Horn throughout the centuries,<sup>112</sup> there is no proof of a *makellon* ever in that part of the city,<sup>113</sup> let alone one called Leomakellon/Dimakellon.

111 Berger, who identifies the Basilike Gate with the Porta Platea, places the Basilike Market (which he considers to be the same as the Leomakellon) in the area of Zeugma. If this is the case, it would prove the existence of a marketplace in the north-central area of Constantinople. However, as shown by Majeska and, more recently, Mundell Mango, the evidence provided by the late pilgrims and travelers points to an eastern location for the Basilike Gate (and, therefore, for the market of the same name). Their identification of the modern Gate of Zindankapı as the Basilike Gate is more consistent with the fact (attested by a late Russian traveler) that the gate was near the crossing point to Galata, for Zindankapı is in the area of Byzantine Perama, and therefore preferable to Berger's alternative interpretation (see also Kislinger, "Lebensmittel," 316–17).

112 Even if it cannot be safely identified with the Basilike Market, there is evidence that the area of Zeugma developed as a commercial district in late Byzantine times, especially as a result of the settlement and expansion of the Latin concessions below the Golden Horn (see Preiser-Kapeller, "Heptaskalon," 102–6). It does not seem, however, that this is relevant for the identification of the Dimakellon/Leomakellon, for the latter is attested from early Byzantine times (it is mentioned by *Chron. Pasch.* in the seventh century, and it probably existed already by the fifth century), when the north-central area of the Golden Horn was not as prominent in commercial terms. It is safer, therefore, to base our identification of the market of the Dimakellon/Leomakellon on the early commercial organization of the city (such as the one described in the *Notitia*), which was probably the one that prevailed when the area emerged as a *makellon* or marketplace.

113 Berger has provided two main arguments for the possible existence of a *makellon* in the north-central area of Constantinople. The first concerns the church of Saint Anastasia Pharmakolytria (located by Antony of Novgorod near the Pantokrator monastery), which in the *Life of Andreas Salos* is mentioned as having been built by Leo Makelles (Leo I), and, in the version of the *Life* printed in PG 111:640A, is mentioned as τὰ δὴ Μακέλλου ("Ufergegend," 153). This last formulation has been interpreted by Berger (and also by Janin) as a topographical referent, according to which the church was located in an area called *Ta Makellou* (arguably, in the vicinity of a *makellon* or even in the Leomakellon itself). L. Rydén, however, has noted that PG contains a mistake, for the manuscript actually reads τὰ Μακέλλους (i.e., the genitive form of Emperor Leo's epithet), which is just another way of indicating (as do other versions of the *Life*) that the church had been built by Leo Makelles (the attribution to Leo I would have been due, according to Rydén, to the fact that the hagiographer had made Leo's reign the chronological framework for the *Life* and that Leo I had brought the relics of Saint Anastasia to Constantinople). Consequently, the passage does not contain any topographical information (L. Rydén, "A Note on Some References to the Church of St. Anastasia in Constantinople in the 10th Century," *Byzantion* 44 [1974]: 198–201; idem, *The Life*

The only sound evidence for the location of the Dimakellon/Leomakellon—Jacoby's Venetian documents—does not indicate that the area stretched north beyond the aqueduct of Valens. And, even if that were the case, it seems improbable that the market was large enough to reach the shores of the Golden Horn. In fact, the likely identification of the Dimakellon/Leomakellon with the *makellon* of south-central Constantinople described in the *Notitia* and the *Book of the Eparch* suggests that the area stretched, instead, to the coast of the Sea of Marmara.<sup>114</sup>

#### THE HARBOR OF THE HEPTASKALON

According to the *Enkomion* of Saint Theodosia, the Leomakellon was near the Heptaskalon (πλησίον τῆς Ἑπτασχάλου), which, on an etymological basis ("seven *skalai*"), can be recognized as a dock.<sup>115</sup> Its location has been the subject of significant debate. Over the years, the dock has been identified in various locations along

*of Saint Andrew the Fool* [Uppsala, 1995], 2:18; see also N. Asutay-Effenberger and A. Effenberger, "Eski Imaret Camii, Bonoszisterne and Konstantinsmauer," *JÖB* 58 [2008]: 13–44, at 23 and n. 87). The church's location cannot be determined with certainty. Although Antony of Novgorod places it near the monastery of the Pantokrator (B. de Khitrowo, *Itinéraires russes en Orient* [Geneva, 1889], 106), and a late anonymous traveler mentions an (unidentified) church of Saint Anastasia near the Holy Apostles (K. Ciggaar, "Une description de Constantinople traduite par un pèlerin anglais," *REB* 34 [1976]: 211–68, at 258), Rydén has argued, on the basis of several other sources, that Saint Anastasia Pharmakolytria was actually the same as Saint Anastasia of the Porticoes of Domninos (Rydén, "St. Anastasia," 201). If this is correct, the church would have been quite far from the place that Berger has identified as the Leomakellon.

The second of Berger's arguments concerns the *Notitia*. He observes that the *Notitia* mentions a total of five *makella* in the city, yet only specifies the location of four (two in Region V and two in Region VIII). Berger has therefore suggested that the remaining *makellon* could have been located in the area of Zeugma ("Ufergegend," 154). Although this is plausible, the location of the fifth *makellon* cannot be confirmed with the existing evidence.

114 The fact that the *makella* were located in Region VIII means that they must have been south of the Mese, for the Mese avenue constituted the northern limit of that region. It is likely, however, that the market area had grown and expanded north throughout the centuries. Kislinger has argued that the market could have been divided into a northern and a southern sector, each dedicated to the commerce of specific products ("Lebensmittel," 313–14).

115 G. Prinzing and P. Speck have suggested that it referred to a stairway ("Fünf Lokalitäten in Konstantinopel," in *Studien zur Frühgeschichte Konstantinopels*, ed. H.-G. Beck [Munich, 1973], 179–226, 195), but, as Berger has noted, this is not supported by the sources (*Untersuchungen*, 466).



the Sea of Marmara—the harbor of Sophia,<sup>116</sup> modern Kumkapı,<sup>117</sup> between modern Kumkapı and Yenikapı,<sup>118</sup> and the harbor of Theodosius<sup>119</sup>—and along the Golden Horn—the old harbor of Neorion<sup>120</sup> and the area of Zeugma.<sup>121</sup> This last location is consistent with Berger's identification of the Leomakellon in north-central Constantinople. However, even if the presence of a dock in the area of Zeugma has been persuasively argued, no sound evidence exists that this was the dock known as the Heptaskalon.<sup>122</sup> Moreover, even the scholars who place the Heptaskalon in the Golden Horn admit that some of the information concerning a dock of this name (specifically, the one provided by Kantakouzenos's *History*) only fits for a harbor above the Sea of Marmara.<sup>123</sup> Therefore, and regardless of the (hypothetical) presence of a dock of that name in the Golden Horn, the

identification of a Heptaskalon in the southern shore of Constantinople remains a possibility.

#### THE CHURCH OF SAINT AKAKIOS

The *Enkomion* of Saint Theodosia also states that the area was near a church of Saint Akakios (πλησίον τοῦ περιωνύμου ναοῦ τοῦ παμμάκαρος Ἀκακίου).<sup>124</sup> As with the Heptaskalon, the location of Saint Akakios's church has been the subject of disagreement, and an identification of the sanctuary both in south-central and north-central Constantinople has been upheld.<sup>125</sup> The difficulty in establishing the church's location is due to three factors. First, there may have been (at least) two churches of the same name—Saint Akakios of the Walnut Tree and Saint Akakios at the Heptaskalon<sup>126</sup>—and it is not always clear which one is being referred to in the sources. Second, two versions of Saint Akakios's martyrdom exist—according to one, the saint was beheaded; according to the other, he was hung from a walnut tree—and the relationship between these versions and the saint's church(es) is uncertain. Third, the saint's relics may have been connected with more than one shrine. I begin by identifying the topographical referents connected with the church(es) of Saint Akakios and discussing possible interpretations.

According to Sokrates, in about 408 Emperor Arkadios visited a shrine of Saint Akakios that was built within a huge house (οἶκός μέγιστος) called Καρύα (Walnut Tree), the site of the saint's martyrdom by hanging.<sup>127</sup> The patriographers mention a church of Saint Akakios Χαρέα (probably a variation of Καρύα)

116 A. G. Paspati, *Bυζαντιναί μελέται* (Constantinople, 1877), 124–25.

117 Mordtmann, *Esquisse*, 57, 69.

118 A. van Milligen, *Byzantine Constantinople* (London, 1899), 308–13; see also W. Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie Istanbuls* (Tübingen, 1977), 61–62.

119 Janin, *Constantinople*, 229–30; R. Guiland, *Études de topographie de Constantinople byzantine* (Berlin and Amsterdam, 1969), 2:109–11.

120 A. Stauridou-Zaphraka, “Το Κοντοσκάλιο καὶ το Επτασκάλο: Συμβολή στή μελέτη των λιμανιών της Κωνσταντινούπολης κατὰ την ὕστερη περίοδο,” *Byzantina* 13, no. 2 (1985): 1303–28, at 1321, 1328.

121 W. Müller-Wiener, *Die Häfen von Byzantion, Konstantinopolis, Istanbul* (Tübingen, 1994), 11; Preiser-Kapeller, “Heptaskalon,” 99–102.

122 The main topographical referent for the identification of the dock of Zeugma as the Heptaskalon is the church of Saint Akakios (see, for instance, *ibid.*, 99–102), which, however, is rather problematic (see the section on Saint Akakios, below). It is interesting to note, in any case, that Prinzing and Speck, who locate the church of Saint Akakios of the Heptaskalon in northern Constantinople, nevertheless argue that the harbor of the Heptaskalon (mentioned in Kantakouzenos's *History*) must have necessarily been located above the Sea of Marmara (“Fünf Lokaltäten in Konstantinopel,” 196–97). This is also the interpretation of J.-L. van Dieten (*Nikephoros Gregoras, Rhomäische Geschichte*, part 5, ch. 24, 3–29 [Stuttgart, 2003], 248–55), followed by other specialists (see A. Effenberger, “Die Klöster der beiden Kyrai Martha und die Kirche des Bebaia Elpis-Klosters in Konstantinopel,” *Millennium* 3 [2006]: 255–93, at 265, n. 35; Preiser-Kapeller, “Heptaskalon,” 106–8). See also H. Ahrweiler, *Byzance et la mer: La marine de guerre, la politique et les institutions maritimes de Byzance aux VII<sup>e</sup>–XV<sup>e</sup> siècles* (Paris, 1966), 433–34.

123 Preiser-Kapeller, “Heptaskalon,” 106–8; see also Effenberger, “Klöster,” 265 and n. 35.

124 *Enkomion*, ch. 19. On the cult of Saint Akakios, see A. Berger, “Mokios und Konstantin der Große: Zu den Anfängen des Märtyrerkults in Konstantinopel,” in *Antecessor: Festschrift für Spyros N. Troianos zum 80. Geburtstag*, ed. V. Leontaritou et al. (Athens, 2013), 165–85, esp. 168–74.

125 For a location in southern Constantinople, see Mordtmann, *Esquisse*, 57–58; R. Janin, *La géographie ecclésiastique de l'Empire byzantin: Les églises et les monastères* (Paris, 1969), 14–15. For a location in the north, see, among others, Prinzing and Speck, “Fünf Lokaltäten,” 188–98; Berger, *Untersuchungen*, 465–66; *idem*, “Ufergegend,” 153; Preiser-Kapeller, “Heptaskalon,” 99–102.

126 It is also possible that all references preserved in the sources refer to the same church. Yet, the testimonies frequently complement the church's name either with a location (ἐν τῷ Επτασκάλῳ) or with a nickname (Καρύα/Χαρέα), which suggests an attempt to avoid confusion between different buildings.

127 Sokr., *HE* 6.23; Theoph., *Chronographia* (ed. de Boor, 79–80).

near a Basilike Gate.<sup>128</sup> If this gate is the one identified with modern Zindankapi,<sup>129</sup> the church of the Walnut Tree was in northern Constantinople, near the shore of the Golden Horn.

Nicholas Mesarites's *Description of the Holy Apostles* claims that Constantine's remains were originally in a church of Saint Akakios located in the "middle and the navel" (κατὰ τὸ μέσον πάντῃ καὶ οἶον κατ'ὀμφαλὸν) of the city—that is, the Mesomphalos, between the third and the fourth hills of Constantinople—before being transported to the mausoleum of the Holy Apostles, which is described as being "a little above the middle and about the heart" of the city (καὶ τοῦ μέσου καὶ περὶ ὀμφαλὸν τὸ ὑπὲρ τὸ μέσον μικρὸν καὶ περὶ τὴν καρδίαν προκρίναντος).<sup>130</sup> Given its connection to the emperor's reburial, it is likely that the church of Saint Akakios at the Mesomphalon was also the sanctuary to which Bishop Makedonios transported the remains of Constantine the Great in 359.<sup>131</sup> If this is the case, the church of Saint Akakios, also in northern Constantinople, must have existed since the fourth century. Does this imply that Saint Akakios at the Walnut Tree and Saint Akakios at the Mesomphalon are the same church? Both the relative proximity and early foundation date would seem to indicate that to be so, for it seems unlikely that two churches of the same (rare) name were founded during the same century so close to each other.<sup>132</sup> Moreover, the fifth-century *Notitia* identifies only one church of Saint Akakios in northern Constantinople—arguably, this very same church at the Walnut Tree/Mesomphalon—which supports this conclusion.<sup>133</sup>

What about Saint Akakios at the Heptaskalon? Unfortunately, the topographical referents for this church are few, and none provides conclusive information. In addition to the Heptaskalon, we know that the

sanctuary was near a church of Saint Metrophanes.<sup>134</sup> This is hardly significant, for the shrine of Saint Metrophanes cannot be independently located, but it allows us to identify a brief reference to the church of Saint Akakios at the Heptaskalon in the itinerary of Antony of Novgorad.<sup>135</sup> The Russian traveler mentions the church of Saint Akakios after referring to the Forum of Constantine and before describing the church of Saints Sergios and Bakchos, which would seem to indicate that he had seen the sanctuary somewhere in south-central Constantinople. This possibility is consistent with another vague yet meaningful reference. According to Prokopios, Justinian I had restored the church of Saint Akakios at the Heptaskalon.<sup>136</sup> He does not state the church's location, but he does note that it was near a marketplace, which would be consistent with the great marketplace area that stretched along the Mese.<sup>137</sup> Even if the location of Saint Akakios at the Heptaskalon cannot be established with certainty, the evidence does not necessarily suggest an identification with the church of the Mesomphalon/Walnut Tree<sup>138</sup> or a location in northern Constantinople.<sup>139</sup>

134 *Synaxarion*, 4 June.

135 *Itinéraires*, 106. Antony of Novgorad does not mention the Heptaskalon, but the church's proximity to Saint Metrophanes makes it clear that he was referring to that particular shrine of Saint Akakios.

136 Prokopios, *Buildings* 1.4.25.

137 Prokopios does not specify that the church of Saint Akakios restored by Justinian was the one at the Heptaskalon, but, as the patriographers attribute to Justinian the restoration of the church of Saint Akakios at the Heptaskalon (*Pat.* 3:18), we can assume that Prokopios was, indeed, referring to that one.

138 See, however, Byzantios, *Κωνσταντινούπολις*, 377–79; Prinzing and Speck, "Fünf Lokaltäten," 188–89. It is generally accepted that they were different churches (see, among others, Janin, *Églises*, 13–15; Berger, *Untersuchungen*, 467).

139 Other referents, such as the monastery of *Bebaia Elpis*, the house of Mosele, or the Christokamaron—all of which were in the vicinity of a church of Saint Akakios—have been connected to the church of the Heptaskalon. Janin, who believed that these structures were located in southern Constantinople, used them to substantiate his hypothesis that Saint Akakios at the Heptaskalon was in the south (Janin, *Églises*, 15). The later rectification of these structures' location (they were in northern Constantinople) led similarly to substantiate the argument that Saint Akakios of the Heptaskalon was in the north (see, among others, Berger, *Untersuchungen*, 465; Preiser-Kapeller, "Heptaskalon," 99–102; Effenberger, "Klöster," 264–66). The fact remains, however, that there is no solid connection between

128 *Pat.* 3:116, app. See, however, Prinzing and Speck, "Fünf Lokaltäten," 192–94.

129 See nn. 110 and 111.

130 1.1–2 (G. Downey, "Nikolaos Mesarites: Description of the Church of the Holy Apostles at Constantinople," *TAPS*, n.s. 47 [1957]: 855–924, at 897).

131 Sokr., *HE* 2.38.35–40; Sozom., *HE* 4.21.3–4; Theoph., *Chronographia* (ed. de Boor, 46).

132 See, however, Berger, *Untersuchungen*, 467.

133 *Notitia*, 237.

There is another referent to consider. According to Saint Akakios's *Life*, the saint was killed with a sword outside the city and buried in the area of Staurion (ἐν τόπῳ ἐπικαλουμένῳ Σταυρίῳ).<sup>140</sup> As P. Magdalino has observed, there were two areas of that name in the Byzantine capital.<sup>141</sup> One was in Zeugma, in north-central Constantinople, and the other was between the Forum of Constantine and the Forum Tauri, near the Artopoleia, to the south of the Mese. The fifth-century *Notitia* identifies a church of Saint Akakios in Region X,<sup>142</sup> where Zeugma was located, which has led to the belief that Akakios's *Life* was referring to the Staurion in northern Constantinople. This is a reasonable conclusion, but it cannot be taken as a certainty.

We must therefore consider each possibility. If the toponym mentioned in Saint Akakios's *Life* refers to Staurion in northern Constantinople (Zeugma), then this church is perhaps to be identified with the one at the Mesomphalon/Basilike Gate<sup>143</sup>—namely, Saint Akakios of the Walnut Tree.<sup>144</sup> The *Notitia* supports this possibility, for, if the church mentioned at Region X is the one at Staurion/Zeuqma, it must have been in existence since the fourth century, when the church of the Walnut Tree was built. The problem with this identification is that Saint Akakios's *Life* connects the church at Staurion with the saint's death by decapitation, while the historians who describe the church of

the Walnut Tree state that the saint died by hanging from that very tree. This is hardly a significant objection, however. It is possible that the church was originally associated with the tradition of the saint's death by the sword, and that the presence of a walnut tree within the building's complex inspired the alternative version of the saint's death by hanging. Such discrepancies are fairly common in hagiographic literature.<sup>145</sup>

However, if the toponym mentioned in Saint Akakios's *Life* refers to the Staurion near the Artopoleia, then the church must have been located in southern Constantinople. The fact that the church of the Heptaskalon may have been in the south leads one to wonder whether these two churches could be identified. This is rather difficult on topographical terms, because the area of Staurion would have been too far east—unless, of course, it was broader and stretched further west than previously thought.<sup>146</sup> An identification of these churches would solve two problems. First, it would allow each church to be identified with one of the traditions about the martyr's death (Saint Akakios at the Heptaskalon/Staurion would have commemorated the saint's death by the sword, while Saint Akakios at the Mesomphalon/Basilike Gate would have commemorated the saint's death by hanging). Second, it would solve the apparent contradiction of both churches having the relics of Saint Akakios.<sup>147</sup> If the church at Staurion was the same as the one of the Heptaskalon,

any of these structures and the sanctuary at the Heptaskalon (the sources only mention "a church of Saint Akakios," which could have equally been the one at the Mesomphalon/Walnut Tree; see *Pat.* 3.112a; H. Delehay, *Deux typica byzantins de l'époque des Paléologues* [Brussels, 1921], 95, ch. 25), so there is no ground to consider them as topographical referents for its location.

140 PG 115:237D–40B.

141 Magdalino, "Aristocratic *oikoi*" (n. 109, above), 65–67.

142 *Notitia*, 237.

143 Although they were all in north-central Constantinople, the Mesomphalon, the Basilike Gate, and the area of Zeugma were at a distance from each other. If the church of Saint Akakios that the sources name in connection to each of these referents was the same, we must assume that the building was equidistant to all three. This explanation may not be fully satisfactory, but the alternative—i.e., that there were two churches of Saint Akakios in the same area—is even less so.

144 See Mordtmann, *Esquisse* (n. 97, above), 45; Pargoire, "Porte Basilikè" (n. 110, above), 30–32; van Milligen, *Byzantine Constantinople* (n. 118, above), 213 (though he doubted the identification of the Basilike Gate as one of the wall gates); Janin, *Églises*, 13–14. However, a more complex alternative is found in Prinzing and Speck, "Fünf Lokaltäten," 192–94.

145 A different tradition placed Saint Akakios's martyrdom at Nicomedia instead of Constantinople (see D. Woods, "The Church of 'St.' Acacius at Constantinople," *VChr* 55, no. 2 [2001]: 201–7).

146 The *Life of Saint Stephen the Younger* places the Staurion (which took its name from a monumental Cross set on a pillar) on the "downslope of the public avenue" (πρὸς τὸ τῆς βασιλικῆς δημοσίας λεωφόρου πρανὲς ἐν ᾧ ἀνίδρυται καὶ ἐπιλέγεται τὸ Σταυρίον), so some place where in the vicinity of the Mese (M.-F. Auzépy, *La Vie d'Étienne le Jeune par Étienne le Diacre* [Aldershot, 1997], ch. 3). The *Patria* place it near the Artopoleia (πλησίον τῶν Ἀρτοπωλείων) and connect it with the hippodrome traditions (*Pat.* 2:64; Guidi Vita, 650), which means that it must have been between the Forum of Constantine and the Forum of Theodosius, probably to the south of the Mese. Berger has identified the Cross that gave its name to the area with the column raised by Phokas near the church of the Forty Martyrs (*Untersuchungen*, 316–17), which was located in the ancient Praetorium. The *Chronicon Paschale* defines that column as being located "to the east of church of the Forty Saints" (L. Dindorf, ed. [Bonn, 1832], 1:703). The location of the area can thus be well established, but its boundaries cannot be defined with precision.

147 The *Life* indicates that the saint was buried at Staurion. Other sources, however, clearly indicated that (at least some of) his relics

then it would have been the (only) one to preserve the saint's relics.

This last point, however, is not particularly relevant. It is possible that the saint's relics were simply transferred from one location to another—the church at the Walnut Tree (which may also have been the one at Staurion, if we understand the toponym as referring to northern Constantinople) was damaged by an earthquake during the fifth century and underwent a reconstruction in the next century, which may have led to the translation of the relics to another shrine.<sup>148</sup> Also, the relics may have been distributed among different churches.<sup>149</sup>

Moreover, the church of Staurion may have been different from both the ones at the Mesomphalon/Basilike Gate and the Heptaskalon—in which case there would have been three churches with the same name. In topographical terms, the church(es) of Saint Akakios remains quite problematic, and it is therefore necessary to proceed with caution when considering it as a referent for the location of the Dimakellon/Leomakellon or the Heptaskalon.

#### THE MARTYRDOM OF SAINT THEODOSIA

The place of death and the place of burial of Saint Theodosia of Constantinople, an eighth-century iconophile martyr, have been considered as topographical referents for the identification of the Leomakellon, so both of them deserve consideration. We may begin with the first one. The hagiographic sources concerning Saint Theodosia preserve two different descriptions of the place of her martyrdom. According to the *Synaxarion* and the *Menologion*, she was killed in or near the Forum Bovis (πρὸς τὸν Βοῦν / πλησίον τοῦ Βοῶς / τὸν τοῦ Βοῶς τόπον).<sup>150</sup> According to a *Life* and an *Enkomion* of the saint, she was killed “in the Leomakellon” (τὴν Λεωμακέλλου κλήσιν λαχών / ἐν τόπῳ Λεωμακέλλῳ

λεγομένῳ), “near the renowned church of the wholly blessed Akakios and the Heptaskalon” (πλησίον τοῦ περιωνύμου ναοῦ τοῦ παμμάκαρος Ἀκακίου, καὶ τῆς Ἑπτασχάλου). Berger, who considered the Leomakellon to be below the Golden Horn (too far north to be connected to the Forum Bovis), suggested that these sources offer two different versions of Saint Theodosia's place of death.<sup>151</sup> The new evidence, however, indicates that this was not the case. Taking into account that the Dimakellon/Leomakellon stretched to the west of the Forum Tauri (as indicated by the Venetian documents), the area was necessarily in the vicinity of the Forum Bovis.<sup>152</sup> Thus, Saint Theodosia's hagiographic dossier does not provide two different locations for her martyrdom but two different descriptions of the *same location*.

This is confirmed by another detail. The sources that explicitly place Theodosia's martyrdom in or near the Forum Bovis—the *Synaxarion* and the *Menologion*—state that the saint was carried there by imperial design. But why was she taken to that specific place to be martyred? The reason is, no doubt, the forum's reputation as a place of torture and death, where both the pagan emperors and, more significantly, the iconoclastic emperors, had slaughtered their theological enemies. The statue of an ox that could be seen in the forum (and from which the forum derived its name)<sup>153</sup> was believed to have been used in Pergamum to martyr Saint Antipas before it was brought to Constantinople,<sup>154</sup> and it was popularly believed that Julian the Apostate had later used it to kill numerous Christians.<sup>155</sup> During the iconoclastic conflict, moreover, Saint Andrew of Crete was thought to have been martyred near the same forum, and Saint Stephen the Younger's body was further desecrated there after his death in the Praetorium.<sup>156</sup> By placing Saint Theodosia's death near the Forum Bovis, the hagiographic sources were deliberately connecting

were at the Heptaskalon (see *Life of Saint Andrew the Fool*, 248–52; *Synaxarion*, 7 May). Prinzing and Speck, “Fünf Lokalitäten,” 189.

148 The church's collapse after Arkadios's visit, as described by Sokrates and Theophanes, was likely due to an earthquake (*Chron. Pasch.* 570 records an earthquake in 408, the year in which Arkadios would have visited the church). The *Patria* evoke a reconstruction of the church in the sixth century (*Pat.* 3:116).

149 Which was not uncommon, as shown by the case of Saint Theodosia (see below).

150 *Synaxarion*, 18 July; *Menologion A*, l.32.

151 “Ufergegend” (n. 96, above), 153.

152 For the location of the Forum Bovis, see Janin, *Constantinople* (n. 91, above), 70–71; C. Mango, *Le développement urbain de Constantinople (IV<sup>e</sup>–VII<sup>e</sup> siècles)* (Paris, 2004), 28, 70.

153 Zonaras, *Ep. hist.* (M. Pinder and T. Büttner-Wobst, eds., *Ioannis Zonarae: Epitomae historiarum* [Bonn, 1841–1897], 3:203).

154 Kedrenos, *Comp. hist.* 2.344.12.

155 *Par.*, ch. 42; Cameron, *Parastaseis*, 114–16; *Pat.* 2:53.

156 *Synaxarion*, 19 October and app.; *AASS*, 8 October, 141; *Vie d'Étienne le Jeune*, ch. 71.



her to a long tradition of martyrs.<sup>157</sup> Significantly, the sources that mention the Leomakellon as the location of the saint's martyrdom (the *Life* and the *Enkomion*) convey the same notion. According to the *Enkomion*, Emperor Constantine V specifically instructed his men to take the saint to the Leomakellon in order to carry out an interrogation that was evidently going to involve physical violence and eventually lead to her death.<sup>158</sup> It seems clear that the choice of that precise location would make little sense unless the area was understood in connection with the Forum Bovis and its infamous history as a place of torture and execution, for the Leomakellon was not otherwise invested with any symbolic memories of Christian martyrdom. Directly or indirectly, this evidence suggests that the forum was near, or perhaps even within, the wide area of the Dimakellon/Leomakellon.<sup>159</sup>

157 The Forum Bovis was not exclusively associated with the death of Christian martyrs, but also with the killing and burning of numerous other people. Among them, Emperor Phokas; the *sakellarios* Leontios the Syrian; a hippodrome functionary; the sergeant of the city prefect, Bonosus, who had been at Phokas's service (see, among others, *Chron. Pasch.* 700–701; Theoph., *Chronographia* [ed. de Boor, 299]); as well as the monk Theodotos and Stephen the Persian, who served under Justinian II (Theoph., *Chronographia* [ed. de Boor, 369]). For the events associated with the Forum Bovis, see, in general, Janin, *Constantinople*, 69–71; Guillard, *Constantinople* (n. 119, above), 1:45; Berger, “Magical Constantinople: Statues, Legends, and the End of Time,” *Scandinavian Journal of Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 2 (2016): 9–29, at 17.

158 *Enkomion* of Saint Theodosia, ch. 19.

159 There is yet another detail that affirms the connection between the Forum Bovis and the Leomakellon. According to all the versions of Saint Theodosia's martyrdom (and regardless of whether the place of her death is described as the Forum Bovis or the Leomakellon), the saint died as the result of a wound inflicted with a “horn” (κέρας). The saint's *Life* provides an explanation for this strange weapon. According to the text (which explicitly mentions the nearby presence of numerous *makella*), there were in the area piles of horns of the slaughtered animals (κεράτων ἐκείσε φορυτὸς τῶν καθεκάστην σφατομένων θρεμμάτων ἱκανὸς ἐπεστοίβαστο), clearly, the slaughtered animals that were sold in the nearby meat market. This means that Theodosia's killer had simply used as a weapon a random object that was commonly found in that part of the city. This connection between the Forum Bovis and the marketplace seems to have been a trope of Byzantine hagiography. We find it again in the *Life* of Saint Stephen the Younger, whose skull was cracked open in the Forum Bovis by a fishmonger with a brand snatched from the fire in which he was cooking his fish (*Vie d'Étienne le Jeune*, ch. 71). Similarly, Saint Andrew of Crete was killed near the Forum Bovis by a fisher or fishmonger (depending on the version) who used his butcher's axe to

The identification of the Forum Bovis as a new topographical referent carries significant weight for the demarcation of the third border of the Dimakellon/Leomakellon. That the martyrdom of Saint Theodosia took place near the Forum Bovis but also in the vicinity of the coast (as indicated by the nearby presence of the Heptaskalon) means that the Dimakellon/Leomakellon must have stretched toward the southern shore of Constantinople (the Sea of Marmara), because the northern coastline (the Golden Horn) was clearly too far away from that forum to be singled out as a close topographical referent. If we assume, indeed, that Theodosia was martyred somewhere to the south of the section of the Mese that stretched between the Forum Tauri and the Forum Bovis, and to the north of the Harbor of Theodosius (where the Heptaskalon must have arguably been located),<sup>160</sup> the existing information can be reasonably well harmonized.<sup>161</sup>

chop off the saint's foot (see n. 161). This repeated association of the Forum Bovis with marketplace imagery confirms that the different descriptions of Saint Theodosia's place of martyrdom (Forum Bovis/Leomakellon) are complementary rather than alternative.

160 Indeed, for all these topographical referents to be consistent with each other, the Heptaskalon must have been near or within the harbor of Theodosius. It must be noted, however, that the sources that support the location of the (or a) Heptaskalon above the Sea of Marmara associate it with the Konstoskalion (see n. 122), which is generally identified as the harbor of Sophia. This presents a difficulty, because the harbor of Sophia was clearly too far east to be described as near the Dimakellon/Leomakellon and the Forum Bovis. Janin, however, has already raised the possibility of identifying the (or a) Konstoskalion (or Konstoskelion) at the harbor of Theodosius. He observed that Pachymeres's mention of a πρὸς τῷ Βλάγκῃ Κοντοσκέλιον places a dock of that name in the area of Blanda (Turkish Langa), where the harbor of Theodosius was located (*Constantinople*, 228–29). Despite some objections (see, e.g., Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon* [n. 118, above], 63), Janin's interpretation remains quite plausible, for the sound identification of the toponym Blanda/Langa (which remains in use to this day) allows us to make good sense of Pachymeres's passage. It is clear that the location of the Heptaskalon/Konstoskalion will need to be reexamined in order to account for the one unequivocal piece of evidence that we have, namely, that the nearby Dimakellon/Leomakellon was to the western side of the Forum Tauri.

161 Interestingly, the martyrdom of Saint Andrew of Crete is described as taking place in the same location as the one of Saint Theodosia—i.e., a spot equidistant from the Forum Bovis and the coast. According to the *Synaxarion* (app.), the emperor's men had already dragged the saint toward the Forum Bovis (εἰς τὴν τοῦ Βοῦς ἀγορὰν) when a fisherman, who was discharging his cargo of fish, saw the torture of the saint and asked the reason for it; when he was informed (and being a zealous iconoclast), he took a butcher's axe

We must still consider the location of the church of Saint Theodosia in northern Constantinople. Various late travelers describe this church as “near the sea” (the Golden Horn), in connection with the monastery of Christ Evergetes, and in the vicinity of the monastery of the Pantokrator.<sup>162</sup> This is consistent with the hagiographic sources, which claim that the saint’s body was buried near the area of Dexiokrates (ἐγγιστά που τῶν Δεξιοκράτους), and with the *Synaxarion*, which places the saint’s commemoration in the “monastery of Dexiokrates” (ἐν τῇ μονῇ τῶν Δεξιοκράτους).<sup>163</sup> The location of Saint Theodosia’s sanctuary in north-central Constantinople, therefore, is well established.<sup>164</sup> However, this can hardly be considered relevant for the identification of the Leomakellon, for there is no indication that the saint’s burial place corresponded to the place of her martyrdom.<sup>165</sup> The sources that describe her death at the hands of the emperor’s men (whether

(ἀξίνην μακελλικὴν) and cut off the saint’s right foot. Although it is not explicitly mentioned, the image of the fisherman unloading his cargo also evokes the nearby presence of a *makellon* (the term denoted a market of fish as well as a market of meat), for fishmongers bought the fish from boats anchored at the *skalai* (Mundell Mango, “Commercial Map” [n. 103, above], 193–94, 200). In the similar version offered by *AASS* (8 October, 141), the fisherman is himself presented as a fishmonger (which G. Dagron considered suspicious due to the strict regulations of the commerce of fish; see Dagron, “Poissons, pêcheurs et poissonniers de Constantinople,” in *Constantinople and Its Hinterland*, ed. C. Mango and G. Dagron [Aldershot and Brookfield, 1995], 57–73, at 68).

162 Majeska, *Russian Travelers* (n. 110, above), 44, 150, 162, 347.

163 *Menologion* A, l.40; *Enkomion*, ch. 20; *Synaxarion*, 18 July (and app.).

164 Its exact location is disputed. For the church of Saint Theodosia and its relationship with the monastery of Evergetis, see, among others, J. Pargoire, “Constantinople: L’église Sainte-Théodosie,” *EO* 9, no. 58 (1906): 161–65, at 165; Janin, *Églises*, 144; Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon*, 140–42; H. Schafer, “Die Gül Camii in Istanbul: Ein Beitrag zur mittelbyzantinischen Kirchenarchitektur Konstantinopels,” *IstMitt* Suppl. 7 (Tübingen, 1973): 82–85; B. Aran, “The Church of Saint Theodosia and the Monastery of Christ Evergetes,” *JÖB* 28 (1979): 211–28; Majeska, *Russian Travelers*, 348–49; N. Asutay, “Überlegungen zum Christos-Evergetis-Kloster und zur Theodosiakirche am Goldenen Horn,” *IstMitt* 51 (2001): 435–43.

165 Berger has noted the proximity of the monastery to a church of Saint Akakios (“Ufergegend,” 153). This is a significant detail, because we know that Saint Theodosia was killed near a church of that name. It is likely, however, that the church of Saint Akakios that was near her sanctuary was the one of the Walnut Tree and not the one at the Heptaskalon.

they locate it at the Forum Bovis or the Leomakellon) simply state that her body was carried off by a group of pious Christians who laid it down at Dexiokrates, without stating where they had found her remains. The reason for Theodosia’s burial at Dexiokrates is difficult to assert—it has been suggested, in fact, that her remains were taken to a monastery that was originally dedicated to Saint Euphemia<sup>166</sup>—but there is no reason to believe that it was connected with her place of martyrdom. The saint’s church,<sup>167</sup> therefore, cannot be considered as a topographical referent for the Leomakellon.

#### THE CHURCH OF THE GOTHs

The *Chronicon Paschale*, as Berger has observed, refers to an area called “Laimomakellon” (Λαιμομακελλίω), where the Goths of Gainas had been slaughtered after a revolt in the year 400. The name of the place—the “cutting (butchering) of the throats”—is probably to be understood, as Berger suggested, as another paronymology for the Dimakellon/Leomakellon.<sup>168</sup> The *Chronicon Paschale* does not define the location of the Laimomakellon, but other sources that attest the same account provide a useful topographical referent when stating that the Goths attempted to save their lives by gaining entrance to a church.<sup>169</sup> Since, according to Sokrates, this church—the “church of the Goths,” which may be identified with the church of Saint Paul where John Chrysostom had authorized the celebration of the liturgy in the Gothic language<sup>170</sup>—was near the place where the slaughter of Gainas’s men took

166 Pargoire, “Sainte-Théodosie,” 163–64; Janin, *Églises*, 143; Majeska, *Russian Travelers*, 348.

167 Some of the late travelers to Constantinople claim to have seen relics of Saint Theodosia in the monastery of Kyra Martha (see Pargoire, “Sainte-Théodosie,” 164–65; Majeska, *Russian Travelers*, 350–51).

168 “Ufergegend,” 153; *Chron. Pasch.* 567.

169 Zosim. 5.19.; Sokr., *HE* 6.6.; Sozom., *HE* 8.4.

170 Berger, “Ufergegend,” 153; Janin, however, does not seem to make the same connection (*Églises*, 79–80, 394–95). In this church of the Goths, dedicated to Saint Paul the Confessor, John Chrysostom had ordained clergy who were familiar with the Gothic language, and he would sometimes preach there himself in an attempt to convert the Goths to the Nicene orthodoxy (*Homily* 8 [PG 63:499–510]; see also Theodoret, *HE* 5.30). Since Chrysostom had rejected Gainas’s request for an Arian church in Constantinople (Sozom., *HE* 8.4.; Theodoret, *HE* 5.32), it seems probable that this was the building in which the Goths sought sanctuary from the emperor’s men.

place,<sup>171</sup> we must assume that was in relative proximity to the Dimakellon/Leomakellon/Laimomakellon. The identification of the church of the Goths (or church of Saint Paul) is problematic,<sup>172</sup> but Zosimos notes that it was “near the imperial palace” (πλησίον τῶν βασιλείων).<sup>173</sup> However circumstantial, Zosimos’s testimony is at least consistent with the notion that the Dimakellon/Leomakellon stretched south toward the Sea of Marmara, for a location farther north could not be reconciled with its proximity to the imperial palace.

Although most of these topographical referents are rather ambiguous, they indicate that the identification of the Dimakellon/Leomakellon below the Golden Horn is problematic, and that an alternative location above the Sea of Marmara is not only plausible but also more consistent with our soundest piece of evidence—namely, Jacoby’s Venetian documents. If, as suggested in our previous discussion, the Dimakellon/Leomakellon stretched from the aqueduct of Valens to the Sea of Marmara, and from the Forum Tauri until (at least) the vicinity of the Forum Bovis, then *ta Euphrata* would have been located somewhere between the Forum Bovis and the land wall of Constantine. This possibility, which I illustrate in a map (fig. 1),<sup>174</sup> is

nevertheless far from certain, and, in view of the complexity of the matter, it is perhaps best that the question remains open until new evidence can confirm or disprove the various possible interpretations.

The historical origins of the house, the church, and/or the charitable foundation known as *ta Euphrata* remain unknown, but, given what we know about the sixth-century eunuch of the same name, it is not impossible that he was responsible for their construction. The fact that the historical Euphratas was a wealthy individual—so wealthy, according to Prokopios, that Justinian was eager to appropriate his fortune after the eunuch’s death<sup>175</sup>—would have certainly made it possible for him to build a residence and a religious foundation (which would have been arguably meant to become his last resting place, as the sources claim in relation to his legendary counterpart). If that were the case, his (probably fading) historical memory would have remained inscribed in the topography of Constantinople, and, through the process of recreation of eponyms on the basis of toponyms that we have described above, would have eventually given rise during the middle Byzantine period to the legendary parakoimomenos of Constantine the Great.<sup>176</sup>

### *Euphratas the Parakoimomenos*

The various lists of Constantine’s notables concur in stating that the twelve Romans occupied a prominent place in the empire’s social hierarchy. In most cases, however, the notables’ titles—usually those of magistros and patrician—are generic. Although they clearly indicate high rank, these titles did not confer a specific function (at least by the middle Byzantine period),<sup>177</sup>

the Dimakellon/Leomakellon remain impossible to establish with the available information (and, in fact, may have been rather blurry even in Byzantine times).

175 Prokopios, *SH* 29.13–14. The way Prokopios describes the seizing of Euphratas’s properties by Justinian (ἄμφω δὲ βασιλεὺς τὰς οὐσίας ἀφείλετο) indicates that the eunuch possessed two estates (which may have comprised land but most likely also buildings).

176 The priesthood attached to the church of Euphratas (or to the other religious foundations connected to Constantine’s notables) may have been involved in the process of linking the founder of their institutions to Constantine the Great. This type of legendary filiation, which was commonly meant to invest churches and monasteries with greater prestige, would have then paved the way for the literary development of Constantine’s twelve legendary companions.

177 Oikonomides, *Listes de préséance* (n. 23, above), 294–95.

171 Sokr., *HE* 6.6.28.

172 Berger places the church of Saint Paul in Oxeia, which would be consistent with his identification of the Leomakellon in the north-central part of Constantinople (“Uferlegend,” 153 and n. 20). The testimony of Nikephoros Kallistos Xanthopoulos and a late anonymous pilgrim also identify a church of Saint Paul the Confessor in northern Constantinople (*HE* 12.14 [PG 146:785A]; Ciggaar, “Description de Constantinople” [n. 113, above], 259), though Antony of Novgorod claims that he saw a church of the same name near the church of Saint Plato, which was near the Forum of Constantine (*Itinéraires*, 105; Janin, *Églises*, 394–95). It is not clear, however, whether these late testimonies can be used to identify the fourth-century church, for the sources that narrate Gainas’s revolt claim that the church of the Goths was burnt in the attempt to slaughter the men that had taken refuge inside.

173 Zosim. 5.19.4.

174 The following map (as well as the ones reproduced later in this article) has been generated with QGIS and therefore is designed upon a satellite base map of contemporary Istanbul, which appears courtesy of Google. Byzantine structures and boundaries (many of which remain hypothetical or poorly known) are indicated in color. Needless to say, the map is not intended to provide an accurate representation of Constantinople’s topography but only to illustrate in a schematic way the relationship among the various referents that we have discussed above. The exact boundaries of both *ta Euphrata* and





Fig. 1. Tentative location of *ta Euphrata* in Constantinople. Map by author.

and it is likely that the authors of the lists (who probably understood the title system according to ninth- and tenth-century practices)<sup>178</sup> simply used them to denote that the emperor's companions were of high standing, without further precision. With the exception of the "prefect" Salloustrios (*Pat.* 1:63), Constantine's twelve were not granted titles that involved the duties of an office.

178 These titles existed from the early Byzantine period and originally involved the fulfillment of an office. However, it is safe to assume that the middle Byzantine patriographers and chronographers (as well as their public) were mostly unaware of the titles' development and simply attributed to Constantine's notables various generic dignities that were widespread in their day.

There is an exception. *Patria* 1:58 presents a list of notables who not only held specific functions but were mostly in the direct service of the emperor. Though this list also describes some of the notables as patricians, its depiction of Constantine's companions clearly goes beyond their honorific dignities. Whether defined by their specific offices (e.g., prefect, parakoimomenos, protobestiarios, praipositos) or the general roles they were said to have played (e.g., chief of the chancellery, imperial letter writer, stenographer), the notables in this list were all granted specific functions in the imperial administration or court.<sup>179</sup> Within this group is

179 With the exception of the prefect, all the offices denote a place of close proximity to the emperor. Three of the notables are depicted



the figure of Euphratas, whose office of parakoimomenos placed him in the emperor's inner circle. Given the particularities of this list and Euphratas's place in it, we must briefly discuss both its origins and its intended meaning.

It is possible that this depiction of Constantine's companions was at least partially influenced by the legendary account of the building of Hagia Sophia. In that account, Emperor Justinian carries out the reconstruction of the famous church with the assistance of a few high-ranking officials and personal servants, including Ploutarchos, the first secretary and imperial letter writer; the magistros Strategios, keeper of the imperial treasure; the patrician and prefect Theodore; the *koubikoularios* Troilos; the quaestor Basilides; and the legendary architect Ignatios.<sup>180</sup> Although the number of Justinian's assistants is not the same (they are six, instead of Constantine's twelve) and their titles and roles do not correspond systematically to those of Constantine's companions, the notion that the emperor carried out a major project with the support of a close group of aides may have served as a model for the elaboration of Constantine's own legendary endeavors.

One other aspect deserves consideration. Among the lists of notables, *Patria* 1:58 introduces two functions that are anachronistic for the early empire—protobestiarios,<sup>181</sup> granted to a certain Michael,

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as eunuch officials (the parakoimomenos, the protobestiarios, and the praipositos), whose dignities indicate a privileged access to the emperor's inner circle.

180 E. Vitti, *Die Erzählung über den Bau der Hagia Sophia in Konstantinopel: Kritische Edition mehrerer Versionen* (Amsterdam, 1986), hereafter cited as *Diegesis*; in all references to *Diegesis*, I will indicate the pertinent chapter(s). For the figures presented as Justinian's assistants, see Dagron, *Constantinople imaginaire* (n. 4, above), 196–264.

181 The protobestiarios was the second dignity in rank among those (usually) reserved for eunuchs during the middle Byzantine period (it was only inferior to the one of parakoimomenos). Its origins are not clear, because the references to that dignity tend to be anachronistic. R. Guiland identifies the first protobestiarios in the ninth century, and N. Oikonomides concurs with that opinion. The protobestiarios was in charge of the imperial wardrobe and several other tasks related to the emperor's private service. For this dignity, see, among others, J. B. Bury, *The Imperial Administrative System in the Ninth Century* (London, 1911), 125; R. Guiland, "Fonctions et dignités des eunuques," *ByzSt* 2 (1944): 185–225, at 202–20; Oikonomides, *Listes de préséance*, 305; Ringrose, *Perfect Servant* (n. 1, above), 169.

and parakoimomenos,<sup>182</sup> granted to Euphratas.<sup>183</sup> Although it is clear that the authors of these lists were not specifically concerned with historical accuracy, the fact that they chose to name the notables after fourth- to sixth-century figures and, for the most part, invested them with titles and functions that had existed since early Byzantine times, suggests that they were not completely indifferent to it, either. Why, then, introduce two titles that went against that general tendency?

As with most of Constantine's notables, the protobestiarios Michael was an eponym based on a toponym.<sup>184</sup> The sources that narrate Constantine Doukas's unsuccessful revolt of 913, as Berger has observed, mention that the conspirators entered the city through the "Gate of the protobestiarios Michael,"<sup>185</sup> located near the Acropolis that had likely taken its name from the person who had built or restored it. Berger has suggested that Michael's name was added to the list of Constantine's notables due to its author's difficulty in finding further early Byzantine eponyms,<sup>186</sup> but it is also possible that the choice was based on Michael's

182 The parakoimomenos was the highest dignity among those (usually) reserved for eunuchs during the middle Byzantine period. As with the protobestiarios, the origins of the office are difficult to establish, because some references can be suspected of being anachronistic. It is attested with certainty from the eighth century, though it did not gain major significance until the ninth and tenth centuries. The parakoimomenos's original role was to guard the emperor's private chamber during his sleep, but the examples of all-powerful figures who held that dignity (especially during the tenth century) illustrate that their authority could extend over numerous other areas. For this dignity, see, among others, Bury, *Administrative System*, 124–25; Guiland, "Fonctions et dignités," 191–201; Oikonomides, *Listes de préséance*, 305; Ringrose, *Perfect Servant*, 169.

183 The same list also mentions a praipositos (*sacri cubiculi*), another eunuch official who served within the emperor's inner circle. Unlike the parakoimomenos and the protobestiarios, however, the dignity of praipositos is well attested from early Byzantine times (at least from the fifth century). The dignity still existed in the middle Byzantine period, though with less significance than it had had formerly. See, among others, Bury, *Administrative System*, 123–24; Oikonomides, *Listes de préséance*, 300.

184 Berger has observed that the name Michael was itself unusual in the early empire (*Untersuchungen*, 213). For the tentative identification of the protobestiarios Michael with a tenth-century historical figure, see Guiland, "Fonctions et dignités," 208.

185 *Untersuchungen*, 213. Berger has noted that several references contained in the first book of the *Patria* suggest the use of a source dealing with Constantine Doukas's unsuccessful revolt (*ibid.*, 224–25).

186 *Ibid.*, 213.

title. Given the clear willingness to depict Constantine surrounded by a group of close assistants, a title such as protobestiarios—held by prominent eunuch officials in the middle Byzantine period—would have conveyed to a tenth-century audience the notion that (some of) Constantine’s twelve were not only men of rank but also powerful court officials who had direct access to the imperial sacred space.<sup>187</sup>

The case of Euphratas supports this possibility. By the middle Byzantine period, the title of parakoimomenos denoted the highest-ranking eunuch official in the imperial court and undoubtedly evoked the enormous political influence of contemporary figures that held it—notably, Basil the Nothos, who served under the emperors Nikephoros Phokas, John Tzimiskes, and Basil II, or Joseph Bringas, who served under Romanos II.<sup>188</sup> The way in which tenth-century literary production was influenced by such figures is illustrated by other sources. K. Ringrose, for instance, has observed that the Metaphrastic version of the *Life* of the prophet Daniel presents him as a high-ranking eunuch in the court of the Babylonian and the Persian kings.<sup>189</sup> The depiction of Daniel as a eunuch—which is not strictly biblical, though it appears early on in the influential commentary of Flavius Josephus<sup>190</sup>—does

not seem to have been common in Byzantine literature until the tenth century, when Symeon Metaphrastes, most likely influenced by the contemporary court hierarchy, favored Josephus’s version over other interpretations of the Septuagint.<sup>191</sup> The elaboration of Constantine’s list of notables by the author of *Patria* 1:58 probably followed the same principle, and the depiction of its main character—Euphratas—as a leading court eunuch was most likely meant to evoke the power, the prestige, and the proximity to the emperor that was distinctive of contemporary historical figures of the same rank. By adapting Euphratas’s dignity to a tenth-century setting, the legend was rendering his figure both recognizable and meaningful for the middle Byzantine public.<sup>192</sup>

### *Euphratas the Builder*

The names of Constantine’s notables, as observed in the previous discussion, can be frequently associated with civic, military, and religious buildings in middle Byzantine Constantinople. This association did not happen by chance. That the notables’ eponyms were consistently drawn from urban toponyms was not only a way of recreating early Byzantine figures that could properly fit Constantine’s legendary court, administration, and senate, but also a way of highlighting the prominent role that the emperor’s companions had played in the development of the city. Was there a specific logic to the selection of the toponyms that gave rise to the notables’ eponyms? Were the notables’ names meant to evoke specific structures of the imperial city?

The numeric parallel between the twelve notables and the twelve intramural regions of Constantinople is certainly suggestive. The regions were fourteen in total, but, as P. Magdalino has observed, only twelve were “truly urban.”<sup>193</sup> Given the distinction that Byzantine traditions made between the “inside” and the “outside” of the city—the inside being the realm of civilization as opposed to the extramural wilderness—the

187 For the role of eunuch officials in the imperial household and their special accessibility to the emperor, see Ringrose, *Perfect Servant*, 163–83.

188 For a synthesis of these figures’ role in the tenth-century court, see R. Guiland, “Les eunuques dans l’empire byzantin: Étude de titulature et de prosopographie byzantines,” *ByzSt* 1 (1943): 197–238, at 223–27; Ringrose, *Perfect Servant*, 129–30.

189 *Ibid.*, 92–100.

190 As Ringrose has noted, the fact that King Nebuchadnezzar entrusted Daniel and his companions to the chief of the eunuchs to be educated and prepared for service may be an indication that they were tacitly understood to be eunuchs themselves (Dan 1:3–7; *Perfect Servant*, 88–89). This, however, is not explicitly stated, and numerous Byzantine authors did not interpret the text in that way (see, e.g., Ringrose’s analysis of Chrysostom’s *Commentary on Daniel* [*ibid.*, 90–91]; early authors of world histories, such as Malalas or the author of *Chron. Pasch.*, do not follow that interpretation either). In Flavius Josephus, Daniel’s depiction as a eunuch remains vague. He claims that “some” of the Jewish youths captured by Nebuchadnezzar were turned into eunuchs (ποιήσας τινὰς αὐτῶν ἑκτομίαις), but it is not specifically mentioned that Daniel was one of them (B. Niese, *Flavii Iosephi opera*, vols. 1–4 [Berlin, 1885–90; repr. 1955], 10.186). Metaphrastes, for his part, makes it explicit that Nebuchadnezzar turned Daniel and his three companions into eunuchs (τούτους οὖν ἑκείνος ἑκτομίαις ποιήσας; PG 115:372B).

191 Ringrose considers that Basil the Nothos could have served as a model for Metaphrastes’s depiction of Daniel (*Perfect Servant*, 92).

192 *Ibid.*, 107.

193 Magdalino, “Neighborhoods in Byzantine Constantinople” (n. 109, above), 24. Region XIII is located by the *Notitia* in Sykai, beyond the Golden Horn. For the location of Region XIV, see C. Mango, “Le mystère de la XIV<sup>e</sup> région de Constantinople,” *TM* 14 (2002): 449–55.



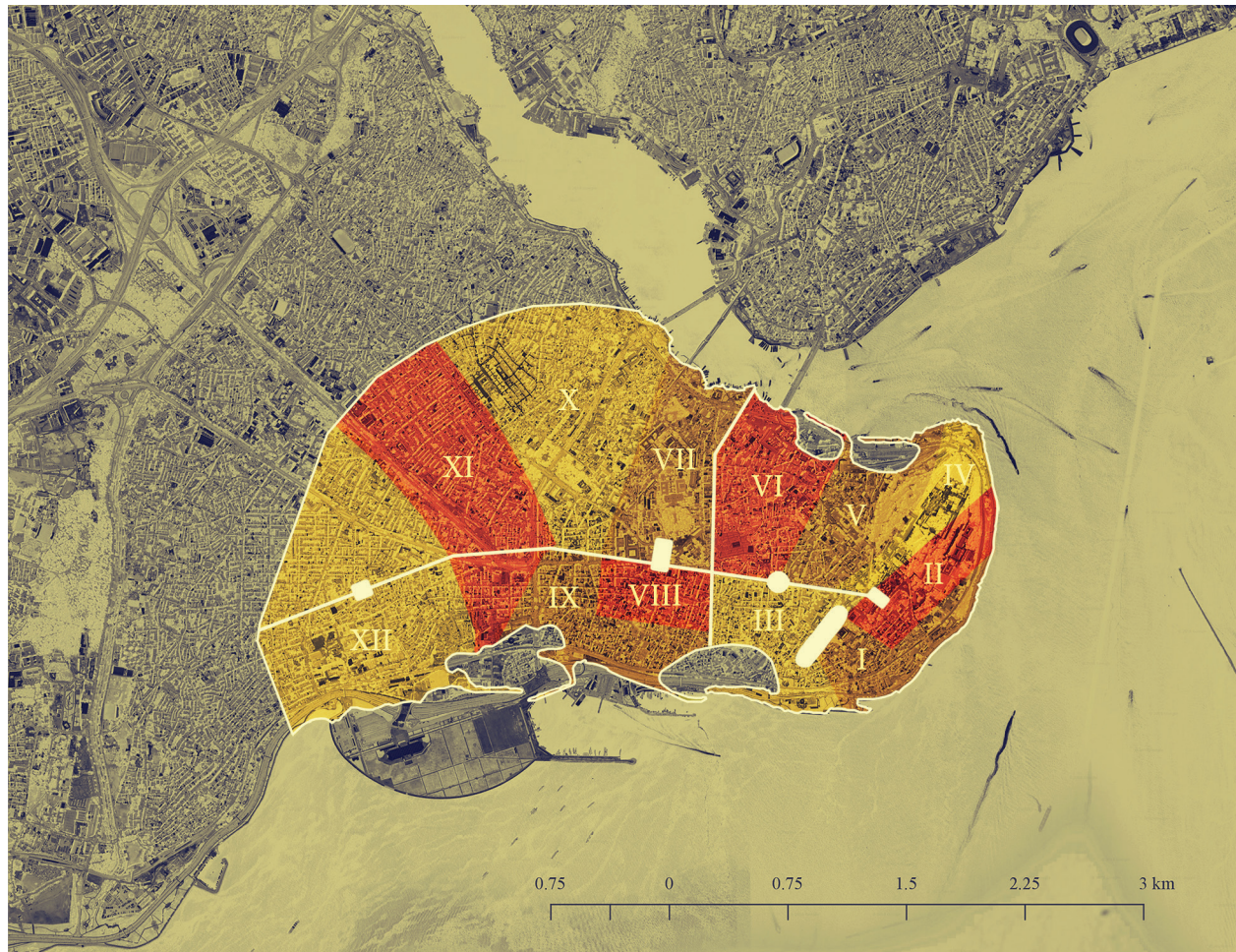


Fig. 2. The twelve intramural regions of Constantinople in Constantinople. Map by author.

twelve regions within the boundaries of the land wall were invested with a civic connotation that escaped the other two (fig. 2).<sup>194</sup> If Constantine's twelve companions were meant to evoke the twelve urban regions of Constantinople, then their role in the development of the city was defined not only by a material

dimension, but by cultural, institutional, and spiritual ones as well.<sup>195</sup>

Moreover, the twelve intramural regions were sometimes the basis for the city's administrative organization. During the middle Byzantine period, as Magdalino has shown, twelve was the number of the city's *geitoniarchai* (heads of the neighborhoods), twenty-four (two per region) was the number of notaries, and twelve was the number of *didaskaloi* appointed in 1107 by Alexios Komnenos.<sup>196</sup> Given the correspondence between regions and functions, it would not be surprising if the patriographers regarded Constantine's twelve as the predecessors of the system of intramural

194 The perimeter of the city, as Dagron has observed, defined a "consecrated space"—which is well illustrated by the legend of the angel's definition of the walls' perimeter and by the Nicene conciliar bishops' blessing of the walls—and its distinctive character as a "civic community ruled by institutions" was tacitly understood in contraposition to the nonurban space defined by the rule of force. This distinction, as Dagron has shown, had been formalized through the conventions of imperial ceremonial, which presented the emperor's formal entrance into the city as a process of replacing his military dimension by his civic and religious dimension (*Empereur et prêtre* [n. 24, above], 79–85).

195 The limits of the twelve intramural regions are based on Magdalino, "Neighbourhoods in Byzantine Constantinople," 25, fig. 1.

196 Ibid., 24.

functionaries current at the time this legendary tradition began to emerge.

Although the projection of the apostolic number over the city's landscape may have captured the patriographers' imagination, there is no evidence that the notables were meant to evoke the actual topography of the twelve regions. Even if most of the toponyms that gave rise to the notables' names cannot be located with certainty—and the middle Byzantine boundaries of the regions are not exactly known<sup>197</sup>—the unequal distribution of the identifiable toponyms (high representation of certain regions and lack of representation of others)<sup>198</sup> indicates that they had no correlation to the geographic display of Constantinople (fig. 3).<sup>199</sup>

It is likely that the notables' activities were defined on the basis of urban structures that were considered essential for the development of a new city. The land walls and water system (Ourbikios, Salloustios), the cisterns (Modestos, Philoxenos), the porticoes (Domninos, Maurianos), the ports (Eleutherios), the gates (Euboulos), and the towers (Eugenios), as well as the numerous houses, religious foundations, and charitable institutions, were all key elements of urban infrastructure. By their architectural undertakings—which, in a parallel tradition, would be mostly attributed to Euphratas—and their definition of the city's internal organization, the notables were tacitly meant to have turned the new city into a true realm of civic (and civilized) life.<sup>200</sup>

It is worth noting that most of the military and civic infrastructure attributed to Constantine's twelve is not attested in the lists. Glykas only states that they founded "houses, churches, and hospices"; Skoutariotes only attributes to them "houses, churches, homes for the elderly, and hospices"; and the *Synaxarion* only mentions "pious foundations." This selective evocation of their architectural undertakings is eloquent.

Though most of the notables' names would have recalled military and civic structures in the minds of Constantinopolitans, the lists' insistence on their religious and charitable foundations was clearly meant to enhance their similarity to the apostolic twelve. Constantine's companions, we are led to understand, were not only the heirs of the apostles on account of their symbolic number, but also on account of their pious disposition.

The depiction of Euphratas's own architectural undertakings is strangely configured. His civic, military, and religious constructions (both public and private) are well attested by hagiographic and historiographic sources, yet it is surprising that the *Patria* makes no reference to them. Given the patriographers' interest in the (historical or legendary) origins of buildings and their conscious attempts to explain the toponyms of the city, it is difficult to explain why they fail to make reference to the significant undertakings of Constantine's chief architect. It is possible that Euphratas's achievements were consigned in a special patriographic account that has not reached us. There are two reasons for this suspicion. First, we know that the compilers of the *Patria* were relying on previously existing materials. The poorly edited fragments that describe the activities of Constantine's twelve strongly suggest that the patriographers knew different versions of the tradition,<sup>201</sup> and clearly some of those versions

197 The early Byzantine regions, as attested by the *Notitia*, would have arguably been modified in order to include the areas between the Constantinian and the Theodosian walls (*ibid.*).

198 As well as the representation of Region XIII and of other areas that were outside the city's boundaries.

199 The location of the toponyms is only approximate.

200 According to the eloquent definition of *Pat.* 1:30, the *strategos* Timesios had rendered ancient Byzantion "urbane and humane" by establishing laws and regulations to organize civic life. In a certain way, Constantine's twelve had also urbanized the city in a way that clearly transcended its mere architectural development.

201 The chapters devoted to Constantine's "twelve" in the first book of the *Patria* appear to have been inserted into an account of Constantine's foundation of the city. Chapters 42 to 57 (with a brief digression at 51) are devoted to the third stage of the city's history, which begins with Constantine the Great (after the ones of Byzas and Septimius Severus). The first mention of the "twelve" takes place in chapter 58, and Constantine's activities are immediately resumed in 59 and continue until 62. The second mention of the "twelve" (though their depiction, as discussed above, is clearly different from the first one) takes place in chapters 63–66 (describing the notables' arrival in Constantinople through Euphratas's mediation) and 67 (describing the architectural undertakings of nine of the notables, whose names coincide in all cases with the list presented in 63). Constantine's activities are resumed in chapter 68 and continue until 69. Chapter 70 is the last passage dedicated to the notables (describing their architectonic undertakings), but the only two names that are explicitly mentioned—Ourbikios and Salloustios—do not fit any of the known lists. (The two names are attested, but never in the same list.) Constantine's activities are resumed in chapter 71, and the book then concludes with a reference to Theodosius II.

The structure and content of the chapters suggest that the patriographers relied on three different versions of the tradition of the





Fig. 3. The toponyms of Constantine's companions in Constantinople. Map by author.

contained information about Euphratas (as indicated by the brief references to his figure in *Patria* 1:58 and 1:65). Second, the numerous similarities among the hagiographic, historiographic, and patriographic

"twelve" (the ones represented, respectively, by chapters 58, 63–67, and 70). The unskillful editing of the text (in chapter 68, for example, the beginning of the sentence, in which the subject is ambiguous, indicates that the passage was originally a continuation of chapter 62) confirms that the information about the "twelve" was inserted into an account of Constantine's foundation of Constantinople, and that the sources used in connection to the "twelve" contained more details than the ones preserved by the *Patria*. For instance, the expression "as has been said," used in chapter 70 to introduce the activities of Ourbikios and Salloustios—whose names had never been mentioned together and whose building activities had never been specified in previous chapters—indicates that this passage was removed from a more elaborate account that provided further information about these two notables' endeavors. The scattered (and sometimes contradictory) details preserved in the second and third books of the *Patria* confirm the existence of various traditions about the "twelve."

depictions of Euphratas cannot be explained as the result of a mutual dependency, and consequently hint at the existence of a common source (or group of sources). The existence of such a source may have convinced the patriographers that it was unnecessary to deal with Euphratas's figure in detail, because his deeds were properly attested elsewhere. Euphratas's case, in that sense, could be similar to the one of Ignatios, who plays a prominent role in the patriographic account devoted to the (re)building of Hagia Sophia yet is never mentioned in the other sections of the *Patria*.<sup>202</sup>

202 It is also possible that the patriographers' interest in presenting a history of the city in three stages (Byzas, Severos, Constantine) led them to deliberately omit Euphratas's role in the foundation process, for the parakoimomenos's activities were sometimes developed in detriment of Constantine's figure. But, even if this were the case, we may still wonder why the patriographers failed to mention Euphratas's foundation of the church of the Theotokos (which, as a private enterprise, had no connection to Constantine). The answer to this is quite difficult, though it is possible that the church was too

But what did the underlying source(s) say about Euphratas? Given this figure's various facets, it is necessary to discuss the information concerning his role both as imperial architect (or, more broadly, as urban developer) of Constantinople and as Constantine's spiritual adviser.

### Euphratas and the Foundation of Constantinople

The figure of "imperial architect" seems to have been quite popular in Byzantine legendary traditions. Emperor Theodosius I had allegedly relied on the magistros Rouphinos for his (fictional) restoration of the church of Hagia Sophia.<sup>203</sup> Emperor Maurice was said to have counted on the parakoimomenos Stephen for the building of the cistern called the Rams, a home for the elderly, and a bath at *ta Armatiou*.<sup>204</sup> Emperor Theodosius II was believed to have trusted the construction of the street-lighting system, the land walls, the bath of Achilles, and other civic works to his prefect Kyros.<sup>205</sup> And, most famously, Emperor Justinian I and his successor Justin II were believed to have put architect Ignatios<sup>206</sup> in charge of the reconstruction of Hagia Sophia.<sup>207</sup> The fact that these accounts were in

evocative of Euphratas's burial place (as it is described by Pseudo-Symeon and the Halkin Vita). As I will argue, Euphratas seems to have become increasingly associated with an angelic intercessor, and the evocation of his death and burial may have therefore seemed inadequate to certain authors.

203 *Diegesis* 1. For Theodosius II's fictional involvement in the restoration, see Dagron, *Constantinople imaginaire*, 269–75.

204 *Pat.* 3:62.

205 Priscus (F. Bornmann, ed., *Prisci Panitae fragmenta* [Florence, 1979]), frag. 3a; *Chron. Pasch.* 588; Malalas, *Chronographia* 14.16 (ed. Thurn, 281–82); Theoph., *Chronographia* (ed. de Boor, 96–97); Kedrenos, *Comp. hist.* 2.370.2; Zonaras, *Ep. hist.* (ed. Pinder and Büttner-Wobst, 3:106); *Pat.* 3:111; *Cod. Just.* 11.43.6.

206 The reason for the replacement of the historical architects of Hagia Sophia (Anthemios of Tralles and Isidoros of Miletos) by the purely fictional Ignatios remains obscure. For the role of the architect in the legend of Hagia Sophia, see Dagron, *Constantinople imaginaire*, 288–89.

207 The church, therefore, would have been built by three fictional or fictionalized architects (Euphratas, Rouphinos, and Ignatios) in three fictional or fictionalized stages (a first construction by Euphratas, a restoration by Rouphinos after the Arians had burnt the roof, and a complete rebuilding by Ignatios after the Nika Revolt). The Halkin Vita presents an alternative account of the legend, according to which the roof was not damaged by the Arians but

circulation at about the same time that the legend of Euphratas began its development suggests that the parakoimomenos's role as the "architect of Constantine" was only an adaptation of an already widespread literary motif. It is possible that the legend of Constantine I was at this point partially influenced by the legend of Justinian I. The notion of the "double dedication"—Constantine's dedication of his city and Justinian's dedication of his church to the Mother of God,<sup>208</sup> as depicted in a mosaic in Hagia Sophia<sup>209</sup>—may have led to the idea that as Justinian had relied on the services of an imperial architect for his great construction project, Constantine, whose architectural endeavors were no less magnificent, must also have done so.<sup>210</sup>

Yet, Euphratas was clearly much more than an imperial architect. The traditions concerning the foundation of Constantinople also depict him as an imperial adviser, interpreter of signs, and, more significantly, mediator between heaven and earth. This suggests that, even if the influence of fictional or fictionalized architects—and, most particularly, the legendary architect Ignatios—cannot be denied, his figure was also fashioned upon other literary models. Two of these models can be tentatively identified. One is the prophet Daniel, who—in the tenth-century Metaphrastic version, widely indebted to Flavius Josephus—is depicted as a court eunuch, interpreter of signs, and, most importantly, royal architect.<sup>211</sup> The other is the pagan

fell due to an earthquake (apparently, an ominous sign) before the ascension of Julian the Apostate to the throne (Halkin Vita, 103).

208 Euphratas is depicted in the legend as an intercessor between Constantine and the Theotokos. As we will see below, Constantine puts Euphratas in charge of building a city (Constantinople) that "would please the Mother of God," and requests Euphratas's assistance to bring to the new city a number of Roman notables that had been "summoned by the Mother of God." Euphratas's own devotion to the Theotokos is illustrated by the fact that he built a church in her name.

209 This pictorial parallel between the two emperors has been highlighted by Dagron: "De cette parité entre les deux empereurs, la mosaïque du vestibule sud de Sainte-Sophie, exactement contemporaine du recueil des *Patria*, fournit une transcription iconographique parfaitement claire: de part et d'autre de la Vierge, avec même visage, même habit impérial et même geste, Constantin offre sa ville et Justinien son église" (*Constantinople imaginaire*, 273).

210 For the symbolic relationship between the legendary Constantine and Justinian, see *ibid.*, 272–73.

211 Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities* 10.186, 195–210, 216–18, 232–44, 264–66; Metaphrastes, *Life of Daniel* (PG 115:372A–92A).



philosopher Sopater, whom the sources depict as a companion and adviser to Constantine the Great, credited with assisting the emperor in the development of Constantinople.<sup>212</sup> Euphratas was, therefore, a synthesis of numerous literary models, and, as such, the axis of a complex symbology.

The complexity of his figure requires a gradual approach. As becomes evident from existing sources, his role in the foundation of the new capital was elaborated through at least four different episodes: the choice of the city's location; the development of the city; the populating of the city; and the slander Euphratas faced due to the jealousy stirred by his architectural achievements. I will examine each of these episodes below and, in each case, I will attempt an explanation of its development and its potential meaning.

### *The Choice of the Right Location*

Euphratas's first task regarding the foundation of Constantinople was to identify the place where it would be built. According to this story, Constantine had tried to build the city but selected the wrong location. Only through divine revelation was Euphratas able to identify the place that God had determined. Given that the legend of the foundation of Constantinople is relatively complex, it will help to begin by describing its main characteristics to establish with precision the place occupied by Euphratas.

The legendary accounts concerning the foundation of Constantinople agree that the process evolved in at least two stages. The first was defined by a "failed attempt" (or, in certain cases, several "failed attempts") to establish the city in a wrong location.<sup>213</sup> The second was defined by a divine revelation that led to the successful foundation of the city in its rightful place (i.e., over the ancient Byzantion). Within the first stage it is also possible to identify two major traditions:<sup>214</sup> one

that places the "failed foundation" at Troy (*Troy Trad.*) and another that places it at Chalcedon (*Ch. Trad.*).

According to the *Troy Tradition*, Constantine attempted to found his new capital near the ancient city of Troy. A divine vision, however, revealed to him that the city should be built over Byzantion. With minor variations, this tradition is attested from the early Byzantine period by a number of sources, such as Sozomenos, Zosimos, Theodore Anagnostes, Theophanes, the *Vitae Constantini* (edited by Guidi, Opitz, and Gedeon, respectively), Kallistos Xanthopoulos, Ignatios of Selymbria, and, in combination with the *Chalcedon Tradition*, Zonaras and the anonymous *Extraordinary Account*.<sup>215</sup> None of these sources mentions the involvement of Euphratas.

According to the *Chalcedon Tradition*, Constantine attempted to found his capital over the city of Chalcedon. A divine sign, however, revealed that he should found the city on the opposite side of the Bosphorus. This tradition is also attested from the early Byzantine period by many sources, such as Adomnán's *De locis sanctis*, Pseudo-Symeon, Zonaras, Kedrenos, Manasses, Glykas, Skoutariotes, the Halkin Vita, and the *Extraordinary Account*.<sup>216</sup> Unlike the *Troy Tradition*, however, the sources concerning Chalcedon are highly heterogeneous. Their versions of events

212 *Suidae lexicon* (A. Adler, ed. [Leipzig, 1928–35]), sigma, 845; Eunapius, *Lives of the Sophists* 6.2.1–2; John Lydus, *De mensibus* 4.2.

213 There is at least one account of the foundation of Constantinople (*Chron. Pasch.* 517) that does not mention any previous "failed foundation." I am only offering here a simplified description of an otherwise complex legend.

214 There is a third, minor tradition concerning an attempted foundation in the West, which is first attested in George the Monk (ed. de Boor, 499) and later repeated by Glykas, who combined it with the *Ch. Trad.* (see below). As noted above, I am just offering here a simplified description of a complex legend.

215 Sozom., *HE* 2.3; Anagnostes, *Historia tripartita* (ed. Hansen, 1.27); Theoph., *Chronographia* (ed. de Boor, 23); Guidi Vita 336; *Vita Constantini* (M. I. Gedeon, "Βίος καὶ πολιτεία τοῦ μεγάλου καὶ αὐτοκράτορος βασιλέως Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ πρώτου ἐν χριστιανοῖς βασιλεύσαντος," *Ἑκκ. Αἰγ.* [1900]: 253–304), 280; Opitz Vita 37 (566); Kallistos Xanthopoulos, *HE* 7.48 (PG 145:1324C); Ignatios of Selymbria, *Vita S. Const.* 32 (Th. Ioannou, ed., *Μνημεία Ἀγιολογικά* [Venice, 1884], 164–229, at 195); and for the *Extraordinary Account*, see G. Dagron and J. Paramelle, "Un texte patriographique: Le 'récit merveilleux, très beau et profitable sur la colonne du Xèrolophos,'" *TM* 7 (1979): 491–523, at 516. Zosimos's version is different to the others (he alludes to "the Troad between Sigeum and old Ilium"), but clearly belongs to the same tradition (see Zosim. 2.30.1.).

216 D. Meehan, *Adamnan "De Locis Sanctis"* (Dublin, 1958); Adomnán, *De locis sanctis* 3.2 (L. Bieler, ed., *Adamnanus: De locis sanctis libri tres* [Turnhout, 1965]); Pseudo-Symeon, *Chronicle* 10 (ed. Halkin, 17–18); Zonaras, *Ep. hist.* (ed. Pinder and Büttner-Wobst, 3:13–14); Kedrenos, *Comp. hist.* 2.306.2; Manasses, *Chronicle* 2337–2355 (O. Lampsides, ed., *Constantini Manassis Breviarium Chronicum* [Athens, 1996], 126–27); Glykas, *Chronike* (ed. Bekker, 462); Skoutariotes, *Synopsis Chronike* (ed. Sathas, 46–47) and *Chronica* 2.71 (ed. Tocci, 60); Halkin Vita, 83–84. See also A. Kirpitschnikov, "Eine volkstümliche Kaiserchronik," *BZ* 1 (1892): 303–15, at 309.

disagree about two major points: the existence of previous “failed foundations” before the one at Chalcedon, and the identity of the person who interpreted the divine sign. Concerning the issue of “failed foundations,” sources vary in stating that no previous foundation was attempted before Chalcedon (Adomnán, Manasses, Skoutariotes); one was attempted “in the West” (Glykas); one was attempted at Thessalonica (Pseudo-Symeon, Kedrenos, Halkin Vita); one was attempted at Troy (*Extraordinary Account*); and one was attempted first at Serdica and then at Sigaio<sup>217</sup> (Zonaras).<sup>218</sup> About the interpretation of the divine sign, sources disagree as to whether the sign was interpreted by Constantine (Adomnán, Manasses, Zonaras, Glykas, *Extraordinary Account*) or by Euphratas (Pseudo-Symeon, Kedrenos, Halkin Vita, Skoutariotes). The first issue (i.e., previous “failed foundations”) has no direct connection with Euphratas, but the second attributes to Euphratas a key role in the foundation of Constantinople. But how did the figure of Euphratas become connected to Constantine’s failed attempt to found his city at Chalcedon?

All the Byzantine sources that attest *Chalcedon Tradition* describe the foundation of Constantinople in similar terms. According to their testimony, Constantine had begun construction at Chalcedon when a number of eagles took the workers’ tools (or cords, plumb lines, or stones) and carried them off to the opposite side of the Bosphorus. This extraordinary event was understood as a divine indication that Chalcedon was not the place in which God wanted the city to be built, so construction was transferred to the location indicated by the eagles—the ancient city of Byzantion. The only major difference between the various testimonies is that certain authors (implicitly or explicitly) attribute the interpretation of the divine sign to Constantine, while others attribute it to “one of his servants, called Euphratas.”

One of the earliest testimonies of Constantine’s failed attempt to found his city at Chalcedon comes from the Irish monk Adomnán, who, toward the end of the seventh century, composed a descriptive work of the Holy Land titled *De locis sanctis*. Adomnán’s work

was based on the testimony of the monk Arculf, who had recently traveled to Palestine, Alexandria, and Constantinople, and who had reported to him, along with other stories, an account of the foundation of Constantinople that he claimed to have heard from the inhabitants of the city. Given its value as an early witness of the *Chalcedon Tradition*, I reproduce the main passages of Adomnán’s version below.

When the Emperor Constantine began to build the City which shares his name, he gathered together an immense crowd of people. . . . He began to build on the Asian shore (that is, in Cilicia [*sic*]),<sup>219</sup> on the far side of the sea which there forms the boundary between Asia and Europe. One night . . . while the innumerable gangs of workmen were asleep in their tents, every single tool they used for their different types of work suddenly and inexplicably vanished. A crowd of aggrieved workmen came and complained to the Emperor Constantine himself about this sudden and puzzling disappearance. . . . Then the King gave them these orders: “Set off at once, and explore all the shore area beside the sea! On both sides!” . . . The workmen at once carried out the King’s order. . . . And on the far side of the sea, the Europe side, they actually found the tools, all heaped up in one place between two inlets. As soon as the discovery was made, some people were sent off back to the King. . . . When he grasped the message, the King at once ordered trumpets to sound throughout the encampment. . . . “Let us leave this place,” he said, “so we can build the city on the site which God has pointed out to us.”<sup>220</sup>

Arculf’s description is not identical to the ones attested by Byzantine sources—he does not mention the detail of the eagles snatching away the tools, which was probably added at a later date under the influence of Byzas’s legendary foundation of Byzantion<sup>221</sup>—but he was

217 The mention of Sigaio, the “Trojan promontory,” implies that Zonaras was reproducing here the *Troy Trad.* described above.

218 For the symbolic reasons behind the choice of these cities, see Dagron, *Naissance d’une capitale* (n. 1, above), 29–31.

219 A mistake for Chalcedon.

220 Adomnán, *De locis sanctis* 3.2. I follow the translation in J. Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrims Before the Crusades*, 2nd ed. (Warminster, 2002), 201–2.

221 According to an early patriarchal tradition, a raven (or an eagle) had snatched a piece of the sacrifice that Byzas (or the Argives)



clearly reproducing an early version of the *Chalcedon Tradition*. Significantly, his account makes no reference to Euphratas and unambiguously attributes the interpretation of the divine sign to Constantine. This proves that Zonaras, Manasses, Glykas, and the anonymous author of the *Extraordinary Account*, who also ignore Euphratas's involvement, preserve a version of events that is closer to the original *Chalcedon Tradition*. To illustrate these authors' formulation of the episode, I reproduce one of their testimonies below.<sup>222</sup>

When, on the basis of a divine revelation, he had resolved to build a city so he might call it after his own name, he first proposed to establish it in Serdica, then in Sigaio (this is the promontory of the Troad), and there they say he laid foundations. Thereafter, in Chalcedon he began to erect the city. It is said that eagles swooped down and seized the builders' ropes (σπαρτία); that, crossing the intervening strait, they threw them down on Byzantium. Then indeed, when this had happened often, it was reported to the sovereign. It did not seem that what had happened had happened by chance, but rather that the divinity was trying to indicate something through it. Then indeed the emperor himself turned his attention to Byzantium, was pleased examining the place, changed his purpose, transferred the workmen there from Chalcedon, lavishly constructed the city, called it Constantinople after his own name, and dedicated it to the Virgin and Mother of God.<sup>223</sup>

Toward the late ninth or early tenth century, however, the figure of Euphratas was introduced. In this new version, attested by middle and late Byzantine sources such as Pseudo-Symeon, Kedrenos, the Halkin Vita, and

Skoutariotes, Euphratas replaces Constantine as the interpreter of the divine sign that revealed the right location for Constantinople. Here is one of most complete testimonies preserved within this last group of sources.

During these days there came to mind the instruction he had received from the Lord in a dream near Rome, which was to build a city for the mother of God, as he said "in the place I myself shall show you."<sup>224</sup> He traveled to Chalcedon in Bithynia and finding it long since demolished by the Persians he determined to make his foundation here. Without further ado he set about starting the work, but eagles took the workers' plumb lines (λινόϋς)<sup>225</sup> and carried them off to Byzantium. This happened many times and when the emperor learned of it he did not know what to do. Then one of his intimate servants called Euphratas said this: "There is the place, master, that the Lord wants the building of the city for his Mother, the holy Mother of God." The emperor was pleased by this suggestion and straightaway went across there, inspected the place which was then a bare hillside, and put Euphratas in charge of the work, with instructions to build a city that would please the Mother of God. He gave him plenty of assistance and lots of money, and told him to take what would help him from the surrounding country.<sup>226</sup>

Thus, the divergence between these two groups of testimonies reveals that Euphratas was not an original element of the *Chalcedon Tradition* but was simply added to a circulating account that was still fluid and highly malleable.<sup>227</sup> This was, in fact, one of the main strategies for the development of the legend of Euphratas. As we will see below, most of the episodes of Euphratas's

had offered to propitiate the local demons at the estuaries of the rivers Kydaros and Barbyzes (*Pat.* 1:1, 9). This development in the episode was most likely meant to outline a parallel between the foundation of Byzantium and the foundation of Constantinople.

222 See also Glykas, *Chronike* (ed. Bekker, 462); Manasses, *Chronicle* 2337–2355 (ed. Lampsides, 126–27); Dagron and Paramelle, "Un texte patriographique: Le 'récit merveilleux,'" 515–16.

223 Zonaras, *Ep. hist.* (ed. Pinder and Büttner-Wobst, 3:13–14). I follow (with minor modifications) the English translation by T. Banchich and E. Lane, *The History of Zonaras* (London and New York, 2009), 153.

224 I omit here the account of the failed foundation attempt at Thessalonica.

225 The object taken by the eagles varies in the different versions of the tradition, but the detail is not relevant here.

226 Halkin Vita, 83–84 (ch. 8).

227 Certainly more fluid than the older and better established *Troy Trad.* The fact that *Ch. Trad.* presents so many variations (most of which seem to have emerged during the middle Byzantine period) shows that it was undergoing permanent development at the time in which Euphratas's figure was merged into it.

life were configured by merging his figure into previously existing narratives.

Euphratas's role in this first episode—which may have been modeled on the prophet Daniel's role as the Babylonian kings' "interpreter of signs"—is the first indication that he was understood as a divinely inspired figure. Like Daniel, Euphratas was able to decipher the meaning of divine revelations when all others—even the most Christian Constantine—were at a loss, and, by doing so, became a symbolic mediator between heaven and earth.<sup>228</sup> Euphratas's heavenly inspired wisdom was meant to play a fundamental role in the legend's narrative structure, because it was Constantine's admiration for his servant's exceptional qualities that led him to delegate the mission of developing Constantinople to Euphratas. As with Daniel, Euphratas's proximity to God led him to a position of preeminence within the imperial court.<sup>229</sup>

### *The Development of Constantinople*

From an early date, the traditions concerning the development of Constantinople had attributed to Constantine the Great the construction of numerous civic, military, and religious buildings in the new capital, such as the land walls, the hippodrome, the imperial palace, the senate, the porticoes, the water supply system,<sup>230</sup> and, among others, the churches of the Holy Apostles, Hagia Sophia, Saint Irene, Saint Mokios,

228 Unlike Daniel, however, Euphratas was an "interpreter of signs" for a Christian monarch, and, consequently, his revelations were auspicious instead of ominous. That Euphratas is depicted as superior in divine wisdom to Constantine—even in narratives (some of them, hagiographies) that were usually emphatic about the emperor's religious piety—represents a first indication of Euphratas's unearthly character. This feature will become even clearer in later episodes.

229 Metaphrastes, echoing Josephus, claims that King Cyrus had made Daniel his only adviser because his words were divinely inspired (*Life of Daniel* [PG 115:388B]).

230 Many of which had a historical basis. The land wall, the hippodrome, the senate, and the porticoes were already attributed to Constantine by Sozomenos (see Sozom., *HE* 2.3), and his testimony was repeated by several authors in later centuries. The water supply system only appears connected to Constantine at a later date (the first reference appears to come from the patriographers), although the emperor was credited early on with the building of baths (the bath of Zeuxippos, the bath of the Constantinianai) and fountains. Not all of the urban structures attributed to Constantine were linked to Euphratas, but the "imperial architect" was made responsible for the most important and most popular of those attributions (including religious buildings).

Saint Agathonikos, Saint Dynamis, Saint Michael at Anaplous, and Saint Michael at Sosthenion.<sup>231</sup> However, the identity of the architect in charge of these projects—for Constantine had clearly not designed or directed the construction himself—was not made explicit until the tenth century, when different sources began to connect the imperial architectural program with the figure that had been entrusted with the development of his new city: Euphratas.

### CIVIC AND MILITARY ARCHITECTURE

Among the first projects that Euphratas was believed to have carried out were the land walls and the water system of Constantinople. These attributions are already attested in the tenth century by Pseudo-Symeon, who describes the water system as a drainage net and alludes only briefly to the land walls. This is repeated in similar terms a century later by Kedrenos, who most likely drew his information from Pseudo-Symeon: "Euphratas, having built the wastewater channels and opened up all the sources of water, began [to build] the walls."<sup>232</sup>

The anonymous author of the *Halkin Vita* offers a more elaborate version of events. In his testimony, the water system is presented as a complex "inflow and outflow" structure, and the land wall is described as having been constructed in two stages—after a first (legendary) wall, built in the area of the Forum Tauri, proved to provide too narrow a perimeter for the new city, a second wall (apparently, the historical wall of Constantine)<sup>233</sup> was built west of the previous one.

Euphratas had been appointed to supervise the foundation of the city, as has been said earlier. First of all he was creating the inflow and outflow of the water channels according to the lie

231 For these churches and the sources that connect them to the legend of Constantine, see Janin, *Églises* (n. 125, above), for the Holy Apostles, 41–50; Hagia Sophia, 455–70; Saint Irene, 103–6; Saint Mokios, 354–58; Saint Agathonikos, 7–8; Saint Dynamis, 101; Michael of Anaplous, 338–40; and Michael of Sosthenion, 346–49.

232 Pseudo-Symeon, *Chronicle* 10 (ed. Halkin, 18; my translation). Similar testimony is in Kedrenos, *Comp. hist.* 2.306.2.

233 The topographical reference is rather imprecise. The text seems to suggest that Euphratas's "second wall" was in the area of the Forum Bovis, but we can assume that the author was referring to the wall of Constantine.

of the land, and digging wells and laying underground cisterns from place to place.<sup>234</sup>

He built an enclosure round the walls he had laid in a circle, where today the great colonnade of Taurus stands, and he made it secure with fortresses from one sea to the other. Soon afterward he saw that it was filled with people as far as the colonnade Bonus, and he extended the protection to cover this, which is how “the Second” (*Deuteron*) got its name from the enclosure of the wall.<sup>235</sup>

The attribution of the land wall to Euphratas was repeated a few centuries later by Skoutariotes, who also credited the imperial architect with the construction of five other buildings: the imperial palace, the hippodrome, the porticoes, the forum that carried Constantine’s name, and the senate house. Most of Skoutariotes’s attributions are not attested by previous sources, suggesting that the legend of Euphratas had continued to develop throughout the middle Byzantine period.<sup>236</sup>

He [Constantine] himself, through the previously mentioned Euphratas, extended greatly the wall of Byzas, and built the palace, the hippodrome, the two porticoes, the forum, and the most beautiful structure of the senate.<sup>237</sup>

It is interesting to note, in any case, that some of the architectural projects attributed to Euphratas were previously (or simultaneously) attributed to the foreign notables who were said to have assisted Constantine with the development of the city. According to *Patria* 1:70, for instance, the emperor had given “six hundred hundredweights of gold” to Ourbikios, Salloustrios, and others to build “the porticoes, the water supply lines, and the walls.” This indicates that the episode concerning Euphratas’s program of civic and military architecture would have developed in three stages. At

an early stage, Constantine was credited with building infrastructure in his new city, without specifying who was directly responsible for the execution of the projects. Later, Constantine was defined more specifically as the person who commissioned and financed the program, but his twelve notables were credited with its execution. Finally, Euphratas replaced the “twelve” and became the sole executor of Constantine’s building program. Once again, Euphratas’s figure was simply being merged into a previous account.

#### RELIGIOUS ARCHITECTURE

According to Pseudo-Symeon, Constantine had given instructions to Euphratas for “the building of a church” (περὶ ναοῦ κτίσεως).<sup>238</sup> The name of the church is not mentioned, but it is likely that the author was referring to the most important of the churches attributed to Euphratas, Hagia Sophia. In the *Halkin Vita*, the emperor is depicted addressing Euphratas with a similarly imprecise request—“I trust that you will also make haste to build the place for God”<sup>239</sup>—yet the narrative later makes clear that he was referring to the Great Church.<sup>240</sup> The same attribution is repeated in later sources, but, although there is consensus that the emperor delegated this major project to Euphratas, there is no agreement on the circumstances that led to the construction of Hagia Sophia.

The sources present two versions of events. According to one, Euphratas began to build the church but died before the project was finished. Constantine, therefore, gave instructions to his sons for the completion of the building (without specifying who would be directly responsible for overseeing the works).

Given that the Great Church of God had been built as far as the *katechoumena*—Euphratas, the one who built it, had passed away in his own house, which is now a home for the elderly in the so-called Dimakellon, commonly referred to as “ta Euphrata”—and that all the materials were stored up, Constantine the Great ordered

234 *Halkin Vita*, 86 (ch. 10).

235 *Ibid.*, 91 (ch. 13).

236 The *Chronica* (ed. Tocci) does not attest these civic and military constructions.

237 Skoutariotes, *Synopsis Chronike* (ed. Sathas, 47–48; my translation).

238 Pseudo-Symeon, *Chronicle* 10 (ed. Halkin, 18). His testimony is repeated by Kedrenos, *Comp. hist.* 2.306.2

239 *Halkin Vita*, 87 (ch. 10).

240 The narrative of the building of the church resumes on *ibid.*, 92 (ch. 13), 100–101 (ch. 19).

his sons that the church should not be left unfinished on account of its great size.<sup>241</sup>

According to the other version, it was Constantine who died before his architect could complete the building of the church. Consequently, Euphratas continued the works under Constantine's successor, Constantius II.

Euphratas . . . wanted to build the shrine of God, I mean the Great Church which has also been called "Sophia." He surveyed the whole area of the city and went round the hills. When after his inspection he had found one better than the others on which it now stands, with a huge effort he engineered the elements of the foundations. . . . He employed all the skill of craftsmen and collected all the timber and quickly erected such a large church as high as its balcony, by directly communicating to the builders' enthusiasm each to use their particular skill.

At this period while the church was in progress, Constantine, crowned by God, went to be with the Lord at the age of sixty-five. . . . Constantius the emperor of Europe arrived—for none of his sons had been present at his death—and buried him regally in the Church of the Holy Apostles alongside his mother. . . . After this Constantius the emperor of Europe completed the remaining building works of the Great Church of God with the aid of the aforementioned remarkable man Euphratas. He constructed the dome in an arch because of the size of the church, and made all parts of the church very beautiful, in particular

he installed a platform—which the Greeks call a pulpit (*ambo*)—made out of pure onyx.<sup>242</sup>

Both versions present the same narrative sequence. The only difference is the person who dies during construction: in one case, the architect Euphratas, and, in the other, Emperor Constantine. The narrative, therefore, can be divided in two alternative series of events (table 2).

This narrative sequence is not fully original in Byzantine literature. "Version 2" is very similar to the legendary account of Ignatios's reconstruction<sup>243</sup> of the same church after the Nika Revolt (table 3). In both cases, the imperial architect carries out the building process under the reign of two successive emperors: Constantine I and Constantius II, in the case of Euphratas, and Justinian I and Justin II, in the case of Ignatios.

The adoption of this narrative sequence by the writers of Euphratas's legend suggests that it was meant to convey a symbolic meaning. Yet, this meaning is not altogether evident. Why would the authors introduce the death of one of the characters (whether the architect or the emperor) before the completion of construction? The most likely answer is that there was a specific interest in presenting the building of Hagia Sophia as a project that developed in two stages. The model for this, as Dagron has argued, is probably the biblical description of the construction of the temple of Jerusalem by King David and his successor, King Solomon.<sup>244</sup>

The evidence suggests that the authors of the legend hesitated about the best way to adapt Euphratas's

241 Pseudo-Symeon, *Chronicle* 16 (ed. Halkin, 27; my translation). Certain aspects of this passage, which appears to be part of Constantine's testament (the death of the emperor is narrated immediately before), are elusive. It is clear that Constantine outlived his architect, but it is not certain whether he outlived him for long enough time to continue the construction project himself. That the emperor ordered his sons to complete the church suggests that he would have died soon after Euphratas, leaving most of the construction to his successors.

242 Halkin Vita, 100–2 (ch. 19–20). To shorten the passage, I have omitted certain details about the building process of the church, the burial of Constantine, and other unrelated information.

243 As described in the *Diegesis*.

244 Dagron, *Constantinople imaginaire*, 293–303. According to Dagron's interpretation, the tacit parallel between Justinian and David implied that the Byzantine emperor, just like the Jewish king before him, did not have the purity to build the sanctuary of God, for he had spilled blood during the Nika Revolt. The emperor's undertaking of the building project in disregard of this would have led to the collapse of the dome (as a divine punishment) and to the rebuilding of the church by an unpolluted emperor, Justin II (*ibid.*, 269–75). Dagron's interpretation has been questioned by later authors (see, esp., E. Kovalchuk, "The Founder as a Saint: The Image of Justinian I in the Great Church of St. Sophia," *Byzantion* 77 [2007]: 205–37), but this does not invalidate the fact that the legend presents the construction process of Hagia Sophia in "two stages" on the basis of the biblical model.



Table 2. Construction of Hagia Sophia

Version 1	Version 2
1. Constantine and Euphratas undertake the construction of Hagia Sophia	1. Constantine and Euphratas undertake the construction of Hagia Sophia
2. Euphratas dies	2. Constantine dies
3. Constantine (and/or his successors) continue with the project	3. Euphratas continues with the project under Constantine's successor

Table 3. Construction and Reconstruction of Hagia Sophia

Euphratas (Version 2)	Ignatios
1. Euphratas begins the construction under the reign of Constantine I	1. Ignatios reconstructs <sup>1</sup> the church under the reign of Justinian I
2. Constantine I dies	2. Justinian I dies
3. Euphratas completes the construction by adding the dome and the ambo under the reign of Constantius II	3. Ignatios reconstructs the dome, the ambo, and other structures <sup>2</sup> under the reign of Justin II <sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Unlike Euphratas, who was building the church for the first time, Ignatios was in charge of two successive reconstructions: the first after the Nika Revolt of 532 (which involved the rebuilding of the whole church) and the second after the partial damage caused by the earthquake of 557 (which involved the rebuilding of the dome, the ambo, and other structures). The second reconstruction is inaccurately placed by the legend under the reign of Justin II (it actually took place after the collapse of the dome in 558, under the reign of Justinian I), which reveals the author's willingness to present the building of the church as undertaken by two different monarchs.

<sup>2</sup> *Diegesis* 28 specifies that the fall of the dome also damaged the *solea*, the parapets, the columns, and the pavement.

<sup>3</sup> The development of this narrative sequence appears to have been complex. E. Kovalchuk has persuasively argued that the legend of Hagia Sophia intended to assert Justinian I's role in the building of the church in the face of an alternative version that attributed the work to Justin II (Kovalchuk, "Founder as a Saint," 227). If that was indeed the case, it is meaningful that the author chose to preserve Justin's (purely fictional) involvement in the project instead of erasing his figure altogether, as was done in later versions of the legend (see Delatte, *Anecdota Atheniensia*, vol. 1 [Liège and Paris, 1927], 312; N. Banescu, "Un récit en grec vulgaire de la construction de Sainte-Sophie," *Επ.Ετ.Βυζ.Σπ.* 3 [1926]: 144–60, at 160). It is possible that the combination of both Justinian's and Justin's involvement was seen as an opportunity to evoke the symbolism of the biblical temple.

and Constantine's roles to the biblical model. In the first version of events (see table 2), Euphratas's involvement in the building of the Great Church seems to correspond, more or less, to the model of David.<sup>245</sup> Like the Jewish king, Euphratas appears to have been responsible for gathering the materials for the church and for establishing the basis of the building.<sup>246</sup> After his death, however, it was up to Constantine—or, more

likely, his sons—to play the role of Solomon by completing construction.<sup>247</sup> The correspondence between the two versions is inexact, but it fulfills at least the symbolic purpose of adapting the construction of Hagia Sophia to the "two stage" process defined by the biblical model.<sup>248</sup>

245 King David was an "architect," for he was the one to consign and transmit the design of the temple to Solomon (1 Chr 28:11–13).

246 See Pseudo-Symeon, *Chronicle* 16 (ed. Halkin, 27). He states that all the materials had been gathered at the time of Euphratas's death, though he had only undertaken part of the construction. King David himself gathered the materials, bought the land, and consigned the plan of the temple to his successor (1 Chr 22:1–5, 22:14–16, 29:1–5; Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities* 7:335–36, 339–40, 377).

247 As I have noted above, Constantine's role in the project after the death of Euphratas remains unclear. It would appear, however, that the first part of the building process was carried out by Constantine and Euphratas, and the second one was carried out by Constantine's successors.

248 For the symbolic relationship between Hagia Sophia and the temple of Jerusalem, see Dagron, *Constantinople imaginaire* (n. 4, above), 298–303, and G. Scheja, "Hagia Sophia und Templum Salomonis," *IstMitt* 12 (1962): 44–58.

The second version of events (see table 3) would have developed as an alternative adaptation to the same model. Although the imprecise dating of the sources does not allow for definite conclusions, it is possible that this second version was inspired by the legendary reconstruction of Hagia Sophia by Justinian I, Justin II, and their common architect, Ignatios. In this case, the construction project was similarly shared between Constantine and his son Constantius, but, unlike the first version, Euphratas is said to have outlived Constantine and continued his work under the emperor's successor. Euphratas's new role—probably based on that of Ignatios—had the advantage of providing continuity and uniformity to the emperors' shared project. Although it is problematic in many ways, the biblical notion of the "two stages" in the building of the temple remains the most likely explanation for the otherwise puzzling death of the architect or the emperor during construction.

The church of Hagia Sophia was not the only religious building attributed to Euphratas. The imperial architect was also believed to have been responsible for the church and mausoleum of the Holy Apostles, in which Constantine and his mother Helena were buried. The *Halkin Vita* confirms in a brief passage the old and well-established tradition that attributed the construction of that church to the first Christian emperor and his mother—"the Great Church had lately been built by Constantine and Helena [*sic* Irene]"<sup>249</sup>—but specifies elsewhere that the works had been undertaken by the imperial architect Euphratas: "She [Helena] was laid to rest in the church of the Holy Apostles, which pious Constantine had had built by Euphratas for the burial of imperial remains, and was august and beautiful and formed in a hexagon in the manner of heaven."<sup>250</sup>

Although it cannot be established with certainty, Euphratas's building of the imperial mausoleum may have been inspired by Josephus's (and Metaphrastes's) portrayal of Daniel as a royal architect. According to Josephus, Daniel had already reached a very high position in the Persian kingdom—its ruler, Cyrus, had even recognized the true God through Daniel's intercession—when he decided to undertake the building of a "tower" (βάρτιν) at Ecbatana to serve as the last resting place for the kings of Media, Persia, and Parthia. This "beautiful and admirably made"

tower—which, according to Josephus, could still be seen in his day—had been entrusted to a Jewish priest, and some Byzantine authors believed that Daniel was buried there.<sup>251</sup> The fact that Metaphrastes introduced Josephus's account in his tenth-century version of Daniel's *Life*<sup>252</sup> suggests that it was well known in middle Byzantine times, so it is not impossible that Euphratas's building of the Holy Apostles as an imperial mausoleum was meant to evoke the prophet's burial tower.

Later sources attribute to Euphratas the construction of other religious buildings. The anonymous author of the *Halkin Vita* claims that the imperial architect "embarked on building the churches of God and the holy places in accordance with the instructions of the devout emperor" and "completed many with the assistance of God and with the faultless strong hand of the emperor,"<sup>253</sup> yet he fails to identify the specific building. Other sources complete the missing information. According to Skoutariotes,

He<sup>254</sup> also built the former church of Hagia Sophia, the Holy Apostles, Saint Mokios, Saint Irene, Saint Agathonikos, the Commander-in-chief at Anaplous and Sosthenion, and Saint Dynamis at Neorion, and embellished the city of his name with many other buildings.<sup>255</sup>

Along with the other [structures] of the city, Euphratas built the first church of Hagia Sophia, the Holy Apostles, Saint Mokios, Saint Irene, Saint Agathonikos, and the Commander-in-chief at Anaplous and Sosthenion.<sup>256</sup>

Like his program of civic architecture, Euphratas's legendary religious constructions would have developed in at least two stages. At an early stage, Constantine was credited with the building of numerous churches, without any explanation as to who was directly responsible

249 *Halkin Vita*, 101 (ch. 19).

250 *Ibid.*, 95 (ch. 16).

251 Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities* 10.264–66; *Chron. Pasch.* 300.

252 PG 115:389D.

253 *Halkin Vita*, 92 (ch. 13).

254 The text refers here to Constantine, but at the beginning of the paragraph it is mentioned that the emperor's architectural program was developed by Euphratas.

255 Skoutariotes, *Synopsis Chronike* (ed. Sathas, 48; my translation).

256 Skoutariotes, *Chronica* 2.71 (ed. Tocci, 60; my translation).

for undertaking their execution. Later, Constantine was defined as the one who commissioned and financed the program, but Euphratas became credited with carrying it out. Up to this point, the figure of Euphratas was simply being merged into an existing episode. In this case, however, we also perceive with more certainty the evocation of identifiable literary models, such as the biblical account of the construction of the temple of Jerusalem, the patriographic account of the (re)construction of Hagia Sophia, and (possibly) Josephus's account of Daniel's mausoleum of Ecbatana, which confirms that certain aspects of the legend of Euphratas were conceived and shaped under the influence of earlier or contemporary narratives. As will be illustrated by further examples below, that last was also a productive strategy for the development of the Euphratas's legend.

### *The Populating of Constantinople*

In addition to his building activities, Euphratas was credited with populating Constantinople. According to the *Halkin Vita*, he redefined the perimeter of the city to include settlements that had been established beyond the land wall and provided "food supplies and houses for those from every city and land" who wished to live there.<sup>257</sup> But Euphratas not only welcomed random newcomers; following an order of the emperor, he also took measures to ensure that a number of prominent Romans—the "twelve of Constantine"—came to inhabit the new city. That Euphratas was involved in the relocation of the twelve proves that there were two groups of notables, one comprising Constantine's close assistants (*Pat.* 1:58) and another the Roman dignitaries that the emperor wanted to relocate (with alternative identities in *Pat.* 1:63, Glykas, Skoutariotes, and the *Synaxarion*).<sup>258</sup> Euphratas, who was among the first group, would have preceded the Roman dignitaries in Constantinople and organized their arrival.

The relocation of the "twelve" from Rome to Constantinople was not an easy task. According to the sources, the Roman notables had to be deceived by a stratagem that, after some resistance on their part, eventually convinced them to adopt the city of Constantine as their new home. The episode of the relocation of the twelve can be divided in six sub-episodes:

1. The rings of the chosen notables are taken by the emperor.
2. The notables are sent to fight against the king of Persia.
3. A house is built for each of them in Constantinople, copying the ones they had in Rome.
4. The rings are sent to their families (as a proof of identity), along with a letter inviting them to come to Constantinople.
5. Upon their return from Persia, the notables are given the new houses and find their families in them.
6. The notables are surprised and/or reluctant to accept the relocation, but are eventually convinced.

The sources present a number of discrepancies—they do not reproduce the same number of sub-episodes, they present the information in a variable order, and they develop the account with different levels of detail. More important for our purpose is that not all of them make reference to Euphratas's involvement in the relocation of the "twelve." This indicates that he was not originally part of the account, and that his figure, as we have seen in other cases, was simply merged into an existing narrative.

The testimonies of Pseudo-Symeon, Kedrenos, and Glykas appear to attest the earliest stage of the episode's development, in which Euphratas played no role in the stratagem that was meant to deceive the "twelve." Their respective descriptions of events are brief and fail to reproduce all the sub-episodes, but they make clear at least that the relocation of the Roman notables to Constantinople had originally been conceived, planned, and executed by Constantine.

The emperor gave instructions to Euphratas concerning the foundation of a temple, and himself took on the peopling of the city. Having received the rings of each of the leading citizens (τῶν πρώτων ἀρχόντων), he [built magnificent houses and]<sup>259</sup> led their wives, children and all their households into the royal city.<sup>260</sup>

257 *Halkin Vita*, 91 (ch. 13).

258 See n. 62.

259 Kedrenos adds these few words, which are absent in Pseudo-Symeon. For the English translation, see Lieu, "Transformation of Constantine's *Vita*" (n. 1, above), 161.

260 Pseudo-Symeon, *Chronicle* 10 (ed. Halkin, 18; my translation); Kedrenos, *Comp. hist.* 2.306.2.

Seeing that his city had few inhabitants, [Constantine] the Great brought to it the most noteworthy men of Rome (τοὺς ἀξιολογωτέρους Ῥώμης). . . . Constantine the Great relocated these chosen Roman men to Constantinople in the following way. Having taken their rings, he sent them to [fight against] the Persian king, Sarbaros. After defeating him, they returned [to the empire]. During their absence, Constantine sent their rings to Rome and conducted their wives to Constantinople. He also built houses of the same size and design than the ones they had in Rome. When [the Romans] returned and learned of these events, they were astonished.<sup>261</sup>

The *Patria* appears to attest a later stage of the episode's development, in which Euphratas had already come to play a role. The patriographers' testimony is more elaborate than the ones of Glykas, Pseudo-Symeon, and Kedrenos, and it covers, if not exhaustively, at least more consistently the six existing sub-episodes, but the role it assigns to Euphratas is relatively marginal. The relocation of the notables is still conceived, planned, and mostly executed by Constantine; Euphratas only assists the emperor with the minor task of giving the Roman notables their new homes.

Constantine the Great wanted to colonize his city, and especially to bring the Romans to Byzantion. So he secretly took away their rings, from each one separately, and sent them to the king of the Persians who was called Sarbaros. . . . Constantine the Great sent to Rome and took their wives and children and families. He also ordered master builders to survey their houses and the site of each house to see how they were situated. And when they observed their houses, some on the seashore, other on the mainland, and the shapes of the buildings and their staircases, [to see] which of them were spiral, they took the families of these senators with them, went to Byzantion, and built similar houses for them. And he settled their families there. When they returned victoriously from Persia . . . , the emperor received them, gave a banquet for them, and said to

them: "Do you want to go to Rome?" In this way he tested them, and they said they would not go there for another two months. The emperor said: "This evening I will give you your houses." He gave an order to his parakoimomenos Euphratas, who had made Constantine a Christian,<sup>262</sup> and he gave everyone his house. When they saw their gates, their courtyards and their staircases, [realizing] that their size, shapes and height were the same as in Rome, and also the view from the windows, they imagined that they were in Rome. When they also found their families there, they were amazed, and as they talked to their families, they understood that this was no phantasm, but a plan of the emperor "who has settled us here against our will and without our consent."<sup>263</sup>

The Halkin Vita reproduces what is undoubtedly the last stage in the episode. By then Euphratas had come to play the key role in the stratagem. According to the anonymous hagiographer, who reproduces all six sub-episodes in greater detail than any of the other sources, Constantine ordered Euphratas to populate Constantinople, and, apparently, also gave him specific instructions regarding the relocation of the "twelve."<sup>264</sup> But if the idea belonged to Constantine, the plan and its execution were chiefly the work of Euphratas. The anonymous hagiographer begins by stating that Euphratas requested the emperor to obtain the rings of the Roman notables, reproduced the notables' houses in Constantinople, and deceitfully summoned their families with the help of the rings (sub-episodes one to four).

Now Euphratas . . . had received from the emperor the signet rings of the leading men. He summoned men with knowledge of the leaders' houses at Rome and appointed houses to be built following the design of each house, with exact similarities as to setting and position

262 This passage represents the only instance in which Euphratas's three facets (as parakoimomenos, architect, and spiritual adviser to Constantine) are combined (see synthesis and conclusions below).

263 *Pat.* 1:63–66.

264 The fact that the notables complain to Constantine about their deceitful relocation to Constantinople indicates that the emperor was ultimately responsible for the idea.

261 Glykas, *Chronike* (ed. Bekker, 463–64; my translation).



with regard to air and sea. Then he sent by letters, and with the security of boats, the leaders' actual signet rings to their wives as if from their own husbands. They did not realize the deception, but rather filled with joy that they were on their way to their own husbands, embarked on the boats with all their most valuable possessions and with their whole household they all reached Byzantium. There they entered the city built for the Mother of God, and each of them went to the house that had been made the same as hers in Rome, filled with extraordinary amazement.<sup>265</sup>

The hagiographer continues by attributing to Euphratas the delivery of the new houses to the Roman notables (sub-episode 5), though he specifies that, in so doing, Euphratas had found himself in need of the emperor's assistance. Upon the notables' return from Persia, Constantine was instructed to entrust them into Euphratas's hands so that he could guide them to their new residences. This is, essentially, the same formulation that we have seen in *Patria* 1:65, except that now the emperor is depicted as following Euphratas's directives.

Meanwhile the most pious emperor Constantine had returned to Chalcedon with his army after his destruction of Persia. The most loyal Euphratas was the first to meet him and made the following proposal: "When your majesty returns to the palace at dead of night with your boats, then give each leader by the hand to me to escort to his own home. What happens next you will learn later." So the emperor returned to the palace as arranged and taking each of the leaders by the hand passed him on to Euphratas, saying: "Take him to his own house." He went off with torches and a large bodyguard. Each man stood at the gates of the house and inspected the entrance, inspected the outward impression of the house, and in particular its appearance, and the surprised shout of the servant girls and the uproar that passed among the servants, and the greeting of his children and the embrace of his wife. He was astonished and

could not explain it, but heard his relatives saying: "We received your letter and boats, and came to find things here." And for more certain confirmation they displayed the letter itself and the signet ring. While they were all engaged in this, the night passed without any sleep.<sup>266</sup>

The hagiographer concludes by stating that the last step of the stratagem—convincing the reluctant Romans to accept Constantinople as their new city (sub-episode 6)—was entirely up to the emperor. He reserved for Constantine the initiative of relocating the notables and the final intervention to ensure the success of the enterprise—the emperor was, after all, the only one with the authority to decide the fate of the "twelve"—but credited Euphratas with the plan and execution of the ploy that was used to fulfill the emperor's wishes.

At first light they all with one accord gathered before the emperor and showed their amazement at his scheme. "Why did you persuade us" they asked "to live as foreigners, and how did you make us become immigrants?" He replied with a gentle countenance: "It is the Mother of God who summoned you. And I trust in Christ who was born her son, our true God, that we shall not be short of anything, but shall be filled with his blessings beyond our desire." Then he ordered that each should be given three times the lands that he possessed in Rome, and plenty of money from the imperial treasuries for their improvement, because they had been stripped bare by the Persians. So all were delighted, and chose to stay in the city under God's protection.<sup>267</sup>

As in previous cases, this episode would have developed in three stages. In an early stage, the conception, planning, and execution of the notables' transfer to the new capital were attributed exclusively to Constantine. Later, Euphratas was credited with assisting Constantine with part of the execution of his plan (he came to play a role in sub-episode 5). Finally, Euphratas was credited with planning and executing

265 Halkin Vita, 89 (ch. 12).

266 Ibid., 90 (ch. 12).

267 Ibid.

the transfer of the notables, while Constantine was only said to have conceived the idea and to have assisted Euphratas to ensure the ultimate success of the plan (he expanded his role to sub-episodes 1, 3, and 4). As in previous cases, Euphratas's figure was simply being merged into an existing narrative.

It is worth noting, moreover, that this last account resumes a feature that we have already seen in the episode of the choice of Constantinople's location: Euphratas's mediation between heaven and earth. As K. Ringrose has observed, Euphratas's intervention to bring the Roman notables to Constantinople is seen as essential for the fulfillment of a heavenly command, for, as the text explicitly states, it was the Mother of God who wanted them to inhabit the new Christian capital.<sup>268</sup> Euphratas, therefore, had not only gained narrative prominence by replacing Constantine as the key character of the episode, but also a symbolic dimension by fulfilling a heavenly order that the emperor was, apparently, unable to fulfill on his own.

### *The Slander of Euphratas*

According to the last episode of this tradition, Euphratas's growing prominence did not come without consequence. The anonymous author of the *Halkin Vita* narrates that certain men, envious of Euphratas's achievements, made a false accusation against him before Constantine to discredit his name and forced him to confront the scrutiny of the emperor. This type of episode, in which an innocent figure that had previously enjoyed the favor of the monarch becomes the object of suspicion and envy, is well attested in Byzantine literature. Several traditions contain similar episodes that may be recognized, if not necessarily as models, at least as a general frame of reference to analyze the origins of the legendary slander, scrutiny, and later vindication of Constantine's chief architect.<sup>269</sup> I can provide three representative examples below.

268 Ringrose, *Perfect Servant* (n. 1, above), 105.

269 At least one of these episodes (the one involving the prefect Kyros, for which see below) is attested from the fifth century and could have served as a model for the story concerning Euphratas. (E. Follieri has argued that it had an influence over Belisarios's legendary depiction as the rebuilder of the walls of Constantinople; see "Il poema bizantino di Belisario," in *Atti del convegno internazionale sul tema: La poesia epica e la sua formazione, Roma, 28 marzo–3 aprile 1969* [Rome, 1970], 583–651.) The remaining episodes were already in circulation in the middle Byzantine period, although their exact

### THE PROPHET DANIEL

The first example concerns the prophet Daniel, who, as noted above, is depicted by Josephus and Metaphrastes as a young Jewish captive trained as a palace eunuch for King Nebuchadnezzar. Later, after Darius's capture of Babylon, Daniel was taken to the Persian court, where he became the king's adviser and chief administrator due to his divinely inspired wisdom. The Persian satraps, however, were envious of Daniel's position of privilege and plotted his downfall. This provides the basis for the introduction of a narrative sequence in three steps that describes the deceitful accusation, the unfair punishment, and the eventual vindication of the prophet.<sup>270</sup>

1. The satraps convince Darius to forbid for a certain period of time the issuing of petitions, either to the gods or the king, and, when Daniel ignores the prohibition and prays to God, the satraps demand his punishment.
2. Darius reluctantly orders Daniel to be thrown into the lions' pit.
3. After Daniel is miraculously saved, Darius restores him to his former position, punishes the satraps, and recognizes Daniel's God as the true God.

### THE IMPERIAL BUILDERS

The second example involves Emperor Justinian I and Emperor Theodosius II, and members of their entourage. The element common to these accounts is that the emperor's rival is, in every case, a builder, and the reason for the confrontation is always an architectural project. In the case of Justinian, the emperor confronts three different figures: his legendary architect, Ignatios, who was credited with the building of Hagia Sophia and the column of Justinian in the Augustaion;<sup>271</sup> his own wife, Empress Theodora, who was credited with the reconstruction of the church of the Holy Apostles;<sup>272</sup> and his most famous general, Belisarios, who was

date of appearance—and connection to the legend of Euphratas—is impossible to establish. Regardless of the mutual influences that may have existed between them, however, the similarities among these episodes reveal the use of a common trope and a standardized narrative sequence.

270 Dan 6:2–29; Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities* 10.250–64; Metaphrastes, *Life of Daniel* (PG 115:388A–389C).

271 *Diegesis* 31.

272 *Ibid.*, 32.

credited with enlarging the city of Constantinople.<sup>273</sup> In the case of Theodosius, the emperor confronts his prefect, Kyros, who was credited with the rebuilding of Constantinople.<sup>274</sup>

This provides the basis for the introduction of a narrative sequence in three steps that, similarly to the one above, describes the groundless suspicion, the confrontation, and the eventual success of the various builders.

1. The emperor becomes concerned (either on his own or under the influence of others) about the activities of a specific figure (always a builder), who represents a threat to his own interests.
  - (a) Justinian fears that Ignatios, whose popularity in Constantinople is widespread, may be acclaimed by the circus factions and become the new emperor.
  - (b) Justinian fears that Empress Theodora, who is working on the reconstruction of the church of the Holy Apostles, may inaugurate the building before his own inauguration of Hagia Sophia, and deprive him of glory.
  - (c) Justinian is induced by his courtiers—who are jealous of Belisarios's architectural enterprises—to believe that the victorious and popular general seeks to depose him.
  - (d) Theodosius fears that the prefect Kyros, who has been acclaimed by the circus factions, may attempt to dethrone him.
2. The emperor takes measures to confront the situation.
  - (a) Justinian attempts to murder the architect Ignatios by abandoning him on top of the column of the Augustaion.
  - (b) Justinian orders that no one provide the bronze chains that Empress Theodora needs to hang the candelabra of the church, so as to delay its inauguration.

(c) Justinian blindfolds Belisarios<sup>275</sup> and confines him in the tower of Anemas.

(d) Theodosius makes Kyros bishop of Cotyaeum, in Phrygia, hoping that its inhabitants would murder him.<sup>276</sup>

3. The figure in question resists the emperor's hostility and is sometimes reconciled with him.

(a) The architect Ignatios manages to descend from the column of the Augustaion and exile himself for several years, before finally returning to Constantinople and reconciling himself with Justinian.

(b) Empress Theodora hangs the candelabra with ropes made from silk and succeeds in inaugurating the Holy Apostles before Hagia Sophia.

(c) Belisarios is restored to his former position as general after an invasion of the empire revives the need for a capable military leader.<sup>277</sup>

(d) The former prefect Kyros manages to gain the support of the inhabitants of Cotyaeum and is welcomed as their bishop.<sup>278</sup>

#### THE PHILOSOPHER SOPATER

The third example concerns the philosopher Sopater, a disciple of Iamblichus, who is historically attested as a close companion of Constantine the Great.<sup>279</sup> According to Eunapius, Constantine was so taken by Sopater's wisdom that he made him his adviser and granted him the privilege of sitting at his right hand.<sup>280</sup>

275 The blindfolding of Belisarios anticipates his later blinding by Justinian in a later section of the narrative.

276 The inhabitants of Cotyaeum (or Smyrna, depending on the source) had allegedly murdered the four previous bishops. According to one version, Theodosius expected that the inhabitants of the city would suspect Kyros of paganism and punish him with death (see, e.g., *Chron. Pasch.* 588). As it happens in the case of Ignatios (who was left to die on top of the column of the Augustaion), the emperor looks for an indirect way of killing his rival.

277 After a successful military campaign, Belisarios was once again a victim of the envious aristocrats, who convinced Justinian of orchestrating his downfall. The same narrative sequence, therefore, is repeated twice, but only in the first case is connected with Belisarios's (legendary) architectural achievements.

278 In this last case, however, there is no indication of a reconciliation with the emperor.

279 *Suidae lexicon*, sigma, 845; Zosim. 2.40.3.

280 Eunapius, *Lives of the Sophists* 6.2.1–2.

273 W. F. Bakker and A. F. van Gemert, *Ιστορία τοῦ Βελισσαρίου* (Athens, 2007), recensio A, lines 13–230.

274 The account is attested by several sources, the earliest of which appears to be Priscus (frag. 3a), and was popular in middle Byzantine literature (see n. 269). Kyros is a historical person (see *PLRE* 2:336–9), but certain aspects of his figure were fictionalized by the later tradition.



The philosopher's position, however, provoked the envy of the other courtiers, who eventually devised a plan to make him fall from favor.<sup>281</sup> As in the previous cases, this provides the basis for a narrative in three steps that describes the deceitful accusation and the unfair punishment of the philosopher—without, in this case, any final vindication.<sup>282</sup>

1. The courtiers, led by the praetorian prefect Ablabius, tell Constantine that Sopater has fettered the winds through his extraordinary wisdom to delay the fleet that brings corn to Constantinople and, by doing so, undermine the emperor's popularity and replace him on the throne.
2. Constantine is persuaded by the accusation and orders Sopater to be decapitated.
3. Ablabius and his accomplices make sure that the emperor's order is swiftly carried out, leading to the death of Sopater.<sup>283</sup>

Although these accounts differ in a number of aspects—the origins of the accusation, the type of confrontation, and the fate of the unfairly persecuted hero/heroine—they present nevertheless a common topic and a consistent narrative pattern. Both elements reappear in the Halkin Vita's account of the slander of Euphratas. According to the anonymous hagiographer, Euphratas's troubles begun when his rivals, jealous of his architectural achievements, accused him before Constantine of appropriating the financial resources

that had been entrusted to him for the development of Constantinople.<sup>284</sup> Though the emperor was not completely convinced of the accusation, Euphratas's rivals succeeded at least in raising his concern.

Now envy<sup>285</sup> flourishes everywhere and the malignant eye cannot bear to look on success. Euphratas had been appointed to supervise the foundation of the city, as has been said earlier. First of all he was creating the inflow and outflow of the water channels according to the lie of the land, and digging wells, and laying underground cisterns from place to place. He was unable to display any of the work to the light of day, and some men denounced him before the emperor, saying: "The money that was given from your empire to Euphratas has been wastefully squandered by him and he has not even begun at all his task because he holds you in contempt. But if he hears that you are visiting, he will probably run away." The emperor listened to these allegations, but because he would not listen to a mere tell-tale or because he was showing special treatment to Euphratas, he travelled to Chalcedon to investigate them. Again the allegations were repeated, with men saying: "See, lord, he has not even cut down the wood on the hill." So they confirmed plainly what had been said before.<sup>286</sup>

281 The use of historical accounts, such as this one, as the basis for legendary narratives is well attested among Byzantine sources. E. Follieri, for instance, has shown that the legendary depiction of Belisarios as a blind beggar asking for alms with a clay bowl was based on Basil I's punishment of Simbatios and Peganes, who, after the defeat of their revolt, were blinded and forced to beg for obols in Constantinople (Follieri, "Il poema bizantino di Belisario," 602–4). Berger has shown that the patriographic account regarding the praipositos Nikephoros's seizure of a widow's cargo ship during Theophilos's reign (*Pat.* 3:28) was inspired by the praipositos Rhodanos's misappropriation of a widow's property under Valentinian I (Berger, *Untersuchungen*, 451; Rhodanos's and his judge Salloustios's names were later given to Constantine's notables by *Pat.* 1:63). It is possible, as I will suggest below, that the slander of Euphratas was intended to rectify the historical record of Constantine's unpopular killing of the philosopher Sopater.

282 Eunapius, *Lives of the Sophists* 6.2.3–12; Zosim. 2.40.3.

283 According to the *Suda*'s version, Constantine ordered Sopater's death because of the latter's paganism (*Suidae lexicon*, sigma, 845).

284 In most cases, the builder is accused or suspected of wanting to deprive the emperor of his throne (Ignatios, Belisarios, Kyros, Sopater) or his glory (Theodora). Euphratas—who, as a eunuch, could not aspire to the throne—is instead associated with a financial crime, which probably responds to the stereotypes about the "greediness" of eunuchs (Ringrose, *Perfect Servant*, 57, 64, 85, 130). The same stereotype is associated with Daniel, who, in Josephus and Metaphrastes, is also a eunuch. While the Old Testament only states that Daniel's enemies struggled to formulate an accusation against him because he was "without fault or wantonness" (οὐδεμίαν ἁμαρτίαν οὐδὲ ἄγνοιαν [Dan 6:5]), Josephus and Metaphrastes specify that he was "above any interest in money and indifferent to any form of profit" (Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities* 10.251: ὦν γὰρ καὶ χρημάτων ἐπάνω καὶ παντὸς λήμματος περιορῶν; Metaphrastes, *Life of Daniel* [PG 115:388C]: χρημάτων ἀνώτερος ἦν καὶ παντὸς λήμματος ὑπερόπτης).

285 The trope of "envy" as the cause of the heroes' misfortune is present, implicitly or explicitly, in all the accounts described above.

286 Halkin Vita, 86 (ch. 10).

As a result of the denunciations, Constantine confronted Euphratas and interrogated him about the works he was supposed to undertake. The emperor's questioning shows that he had not disregarded the accusations, but, as the hagiographer hastens to highlight, his manners were invariably considerate toward his architect.

However the emperor continued with the same intention;—but consider the good disposition of the emperor! For when Euphratas came before him, he said no hostile word towards him, but instead appeared friendly by his expression and said: “How is the city going?” Euphratas replied: “Fine, master, in line with your instructions.” The emperor asked: “Why then can we see no sign of it?”<sup>287</sup>

In response to the emperor's questioning, Euphratas revealed to him the magnificent construction of the underground water system and proved, by so doing, that he had, in fact, made good use of the resources to which he had been entrusted.

Euphratas answered: “If your majesty is in agreement, we will cross the sea so that you can see precisely what we have achieved.” This is what happened and he led in the emperor on horseback with a large retinue carrying torches from the colonnade of the area of Eugenius which neighbors the sea, and he led him through the underground series of vaults as far as the foundation of the great column on which the statue of the emperor rests. This was brought from Rome and set up by his blessed mother, and is now called the Forum. There were to be seen many and frequent underground vaults which completed the whole circuit of the circular structure which was visible above, each formed from a buttress and a column. From them great colonnades were laid in a straight line towards the sea on each side, through which all the refuse from the meat markets and the sewers could be discharged.<sup>288</sup>

Euphratas, to conclude, was not only vindicated before the emperor but also received Constantine's praise and gratitude. The slander, orchestrated to bring about the architect's downfall, had the opposite effect of raising the admiration of the emperor and reinforcing Euphratas's position of privilege in Constantinople.

The emperor marveled at all this but was unable to understand what it meant. Euphratas said: “Cities can make use of these, master, when there are heavy rains, by them taking the overflow so the citizens are completely safe. [Compared to this], building the walls is an easy matter.”<sup>289</sup> Hearing this, the emperor was amazed at the man's intelligence, and gave great thanks to God for inspiring these ideas in Euphratas, and he praised him very highly. He rewarded him with great honors.<sup>290</sup>

Even if the Halkin Vita's account does not match exactly any of the examples considered above, its topic and narrative pattern are undeniably similar. Like Daniel, Belisarios, and Sopater, Euphratas was deceitfully accused; like Ignatios, Theodora, and Kyros, his architectural undertakings led to a confrontation with the emperor; like most of these figures (with the exception of Sopater), he was eventually vindicated. But, while the role played by Euphratas is quite evocative of these various models, the one played by Constantine is not. Unlike Theodosius and Justinian (in the case of Kyros, Ignatios, and Theodora), Constantine is not moved by personal jealousy. Unlike Darius and Justinian (in the case of Daniel and Belisarios), Constantine does not allow the conspirators to deceive or control him. Unlike the other monarchs—and, significantly, unlike his own historical self—the legendary Constantine does not take punitive measures. This last point is rather meaningful, as, in a rare criticism of the first Christian emperor, the tenth-century *Suda* declares that Constantine had acted wrongfully in

287 Ibid.

288 Ibid., 86–87 (ch. 10).

289 Euphratas is thus justifying himself for undertaking the building of the water system (which could not be seen above ground) in the first place, and leaving the less complex (but more conspicuous) building of the walls for last.

290 Halkin Vita, 87 (ch. 10).

condemning Sopater (ὅτι τὸν Σώπατρον Κωνσταντῖνος ἀνείλεν, οὐ καλῶς ποιῶν).<sup>291</sup>

The emperor's behavior in face of the slander of Euphratas is, therefore, of symbolic importance. Instead of jealousy, distrustfulness, credulity, or simple weakness, Constantine displays a sensible and judicious attitude that gives new meaning to the literary trope and amends the historical record. Whereas in all other cases the royal figure plays a negative role—which serves to exalt, by way of contrast, the positive role of the unjustly persecuted victim—the slander of Euphratas articulates a storyline that works less by opposition than by cooperation. The fact that Constantine's fair disposition, as we have seen, tacitly predisposes him in favor of his unduly vilified servant redefines the traditional relationship between the characters of the narrative, and, instead of praising one figure to the detriment of the other, creates a scenario that is clearly meant to exalt both figures.

Regardless, the comparison of Euphratas with other (fictional or fictionalized) builders who were forced to confront jealousy, slander, and imperial distrust provides some insight into the literary background from which the episode emerged and shows that it was not a completely original development. That this episode became incorporated into the legend of Euphratas reveals that the figure of the latter was rapidly gaining both literary and symbolic complexity. The relationship between the emperor and his architect, as illustrated by the previous passages, is one that, without failing to assert the hierarchical superiority of Constantine over Euphratas, nevertheless formulates a symbolic superiority of Euphratas over Constantine. The emperor's astonishment before the architect's work is not the consequence of his technical ignorance but rather, as Constantine himself subtly reveals, the result of his admiration for his architect's divinely inspired wisdom.<sup>292</sup> As he had already proved by his mediatory

role between heaven and earth, Euphratas had a degree of spirituality that surpassed even that of the first Christian emperor.

## Euphratas and the Conversion of Constantine

The last tradition concerning Euphratas is the one that makes him responsible for the conversion of Constantine to Christianity. This tradition is attested by two different sources: the *Patria*, which briefly refers to Euphratas as the person “who had made Constantine a Christian,”<sup>293</sup> and the *Opitz Vita*, which provides an elaborate account of the conversion.<sup>294</sup> That it was known to the compilers of the *Patria* shows that the tradition circulated since at least the tenth century, but it is not possible to say whether or not it had reached the full development seen in the *Opitz Vita*.

This tradition, arguably the most striking of the ones pertaining to Euphratas, remains quite difficult to explain. To approach its analysis in a methodical way, I will proceed in three successive steps. First, I will place the tradition among other versions of the conversion that make up the legend of Constantine. Second, I will examine the testimony of the *Opitz Vita* to clarify the tradition's development. Third, I will provide a tentative explanation of its meaning.

The legend of Constantine comprises four different versions of the emperor's conversion, which can be summarized as follows:

1. *The vision of the Cross*: This old and widespread tradition, which presents numerous variations (e.g., place, time, circumstances, characteristics of the revelation), affirms that Emperor Constantine was introduced to Christianity by the vision of the Cross, accompanied by the legend “through this, conquer,” and, in certain cases, a later vision of Christ in his dreams.<sup>295</sup>

Hagia Sophia, in which the emperor corrects the mistakes and solves the problems of his architects through divine inspiration.

293 *Pat.* 1:65.

294 Halkin, “L'empereur Constantin converti par Euphratas” (n. 3, above), 6–10.

295 This is the earliest and most widespread of the versions, attested by contemporaries of Constantine, such as Lactantius (*De mort. pers.* 44.5; see A. Städele, *Laktanz: De mortibus persecutorum* [Turnhout, 2003], 200–202) and Eusebius (*VC* 1.27.2–31.3; see F. Winkermann, *Eusebius Werke*, Band 1.1, *Über das Leben des Kaisers*

291 *Suidae lexicon*, sigma, 845. In spite of his paganism, Byzantine authors seem to have been favorably predisposed to Sopater's figure from early on. Sozomenos, who attempts to disprove a pagan polemic version of the conversion of Constantine (according to which Sopater had expressed to Constantine the impossibility of obtaining purification after the latter's murder of his son Crispus), claims that the philosopher was “the most learned man among the pagans” (Sozom., *HE* 1.5).

292 The idea of the divinely inspired builder is already attested in Prokopios's account (*Buildings* 1.1.67–78) of the construction of



2. *The conversion by Pope Sylvester*: This relatively early and rather widespread tradition affirms that Pope Sylvester converted Constantine to Christianity by explaining to him a revelation of the apostles Peter and Paul that the emperor had had in dreams and by curing him of his leprosy through baptism.<sup>296</sup>
3. *The Cross drawn in blood*: This middle Byzantine and less widespread tradition states that the emperor had a dream in which he was hit in the nose with a rod until he bled, and later saw that the blood had formed the sign of a Cross on the linen.<sup>297</sup>
4. *The conversion by Euphratas*: This middle Byzantine tradition is only attested by two accounts, and only one provides a full description of events.<sup>298</sup>

These four versions of the conversion are combined in different ways. The vision of the Cross is universally present, while the others, if represented, usually accompany and complement that episode. This is not different in the case of Euphratas, whose conversion of Constantine takes place, according to the Opitz Vita, along with the vision of the Cross, the sign of the Cross drawn in blood, and the intercession of Pope Sylvester. The emperor's conversion, therefore, is not attributed exclusively to Euphratas, yet it is worth noting that the anonymous hagiographer places the latter's intervention before any of the three other instances that, in his version of events, had contributed to make Constantine a Christian.

How did this tradition originate and develop? Unlike most previous cases, it cannot be explained as

the result of the merging of Euphratas's figure into an existing narrative. Yet, as we have noted, certain aspects of the legend of Euphratas were developed on the basis of earlier or contemporary literary models that provided a topic, a narrative sequence, and even an implicit symbolism. This was also likely the case with the episode of Constantine's conversion. Although the account cannot be traced back to a specific model, certain aspects evoke legendary narratives concerning Emperor Justinian I. Even if the subject is not always the same—two refer to the emperor's rebuilding of Hagia Sophia, while the third refers to the emperor's miraculous cure of an illness—all these episodes present a narrative structure in three steps that describes a dilemma faced by Justinian, divinely inspired advice delivered by a court eunuch (who is actually an angel in disguise),<sup>299</sup> and an eventually successful resolution of the problem.

1. The emperor is at a loss regarding a problem that he cannot solve.
  - (a) Justinian does not know what name to give to his church.<sup>300</sup>
  - (b) Justinian does not know how to finance the remaining construction works of his church, for he has run out of gold.<sup>301</sup>
  - (c) Justinian suffers from a painful illness and is in great despair, for his doctors are unable to find a cure.<sup>302</sup>
2. A "eunuch," who is actually an angel in disguise, provides the awaited solution.
  - (a) A "eunuch" reveals the appropriate name for the church by referring to it as the "Holy Wisdom."
  - (b) A "eunuch" reveals to the emperor's men the location of a great treasure.
  - (c) A "eunuch" reveals to the emperor in a dream that Saint Sampson is the only doctor that can cure him.<sup>303</sup>

*Konstantin* [Berlin, 1975], 29–31), and reproduced in all the later (historiographic or hagiographic) accounts of Constantine's life (though the details varied significantly over time). In the middle Byzantine period, this version appeared in connection with one or more of the following ones.

296 In certain cases, Pope Sylvester is only credited with the baptism of Constantine (see, e.g., Malalas, *Chronographia* 13.2 [ed. Thurn, 243]), while in others (beginning with ninth-century sources, such as George the Monk [ed. de Boor, 485–87] Sylvester plays a role in the process of conversion. This version always appears in connection with the previous one and sometimes with the following ones.

297 This version, attested by few sources (Glykas, *Chronike* [ed. Bekker, 460]; Opitz Vita 1 [545]; Skoutariotes, *Synopsis Chronike* [only in *Synopsis Chronike*; ed. Sathas, 44]), always appears in connection with the two previous ones.

298 In the Opitz Vita, this version appears in connection with the three previous ones.

299 On eunuchs as angels in Byzantium, see Ringrose, *Perfect Servant*, 143–52.

300 *Diegesis* 10.

301 *Ibid.*, 11.

302 *Life of Sampson* (PG 115:284A–88C).

303 The eunuch-angel of the vision is said to have been dressed in the manner of a *praipositos*, a dignity that recalls the eunuch official mentioned in one of Constantine's list of notables (*Pat.* 1:58).

3. The emperor follows the “eunuch’s” advice and successfully overcomes the difficulty.
  - (a) Justinian learns that God is pleased with his work and the church is thus appropriately dedicated to the Holy Wisdom.
  - (b) Justinian receives the funds to complete his church in a magnificent way.
  - (c) Justinian summons Saint Sampson and is finally cured of his illness.

Despite the various differences, all the previous accounts share a common topic and a consistent narrative pattern. Not surprisingly, both of these elements reappear in the Opitz Vita’s version of the conversion of Constantine. According to the anonymous hagiographer, the emperor found himself in distress on account of his imminent war against Maxentius. Constantine, who had disguised himself as a wine merchant and infiltrated Maxentius’s camp to assess the enemy’s manpower, had realized that his rival’s forces were much more numerous and better prepared than his own, and feared the approaching battle.<sup>304</sup>

But as his arrogance in their regard increased, he planned to remove Constantine from the government as well, and he set himself to wage open war on him. The agreement between them was abrogated, and their armies faced off against each other, drawn up for battle. It was then that Constantine, wanting to spy out and know precisely how large the enemy force was and what preparations it had made (for he took a great deal of thought about such things), made his way as secretly as he could out of his own camp late at night, got a wagon ready, filled a great ox skin with wine, and put it on the wagon. Then he dressed up like one of the locals, as though he were one of the peasants there, drove at daybreak

to the enemy camp after circling around to arrive from the other direction, came up to them as though for the purpose of bringing them the wine, and sold it to them, cap on head, staying as long as he could and observing secretly everything he could about the enemy. Then when night fell and he had returned safely to his own camp, he was full of fear and dread, so impressed was he by the size of the enemy force and its preparations and dispositions.<sup>305</sup>

The emperor, duly concerned, was at a loss as to what to do. It was precisely then that Euphratas appeared before him and provided the solution. The eunuch, indeed, explained to Constantine that if he were to convert to the Christian faith, he would be able to successfully confront his enemies and achieve a great victory.

And he [Constantine] hesitated for a long time as to what to do and what to decide in such circumstances, until, as they say, one of the eunuchs, called Euphratas and whom he held in high regard, came and encouraged him by saying that there was no need to fear the troops ranged against him.<sup>306</sup> “If you are willing, emperor,” he said, “to take my advice which I know is well suited to your situation, I hope that you will prevail over all your enemies without difficulty.” Astonished, Constantine replied: “How could this be achieved, my friend? What means could there be in this predicament to assure me of such a great victory?” “Provided,” replied Euphratas “that you reject the many gods and properly treat them with contempt, for they are not gods at all and it is madness to consider them as such, and that, turning to the only true God, you take his son, Christ, as your ally in this situation and throughout your life.”<sup>307</sup>

304 This information was drawn from Philostorgius’s *Ecclesiastical History* and combined with the episode concerning Euphratas (see Bidez, “Fragments nouveaux” [n. 3, above], 432, n. 34). In Philostorgius’s account, Constantine’s concern over the superiority of the enemy forces was addressed by a divine revelation (the vision of the Cross, which was followed by the victory over Maxentius), but, after the anonymous author of the Opitz Vita had inserted the episode of Euphratas, Constantine’s worries were addressed by the eunuch’s intervention (which led to the emperor’s conversion, and, only then, to the vision of the Cross and the victory over Maxentius).

305 Opitz Vita (ed. Bidez, 423–24, originally from Philostorgius). I follow the English translation by P. Amidon, *Philostorgius: Church History* (Atlanta, 2007), 244–45.

306 Until here, the translation is my own. For the remaining part of the text, I follow the translation by Lieu, “Transformation of Constantine’s *Vita*” (n. 1, above), 161–62.

307 Opitz Vita (ed. Halkin, 6–7). I only reproduce a fragment of Euphratas’s conversion speech. For the complete text and translation, see Lieu, “Transformation of Constantine’s *Vita*,” 161–63 (English),

Euphratas's eloquent speech succeeded in convincing the emperor, who declared his willingness to accept the Christian faith and immediately addressed a prayer to Christ. As a result of this, the divinity manifested itself through the vision of the Cross, and Constantine was delivered from his troubles by obtaining an overwhelming victory against Maxentius.<sup>308</sup>

On hearing his words Constantine replied: "Those are amazing and incredible facts. Nevertheless, I believe." And, putting his words into actions, he called upon Christ and offered this prayer to him: "If you are able, O Christ, to save those who invoke you, if what is said of you is true, if you are really God, now if ever is the time to prove it. You have won me as your servant, I will be more faithful to you than anyone else, my whole life will be devoted to you as a thank offering. Let my supplications meet success! If possible, give me a resounding victory over the enemy; or at least do not allow my life and my empire to be endangered as a result of my failure: let me be able to escape from this darkness which engulfs me."<sup>309</sup>

This account is quite evocative of the examples considered above. Like Justinian, Constantine finds himself in a difficult situation, receives divinely inspired advice from a "eunuch," and is eventually delivered from his troubles. Yet, while the role played by Constantine is clearly reminiscent of Justinian's model, can the same be said about Euphratas? Certain traits of the episode suggest that Euphratas was not far from the enigmatic figures that assisted Emperor Justinian. It is interesting to note that the narrative expressly states that Euphratas was a eunuch. This

detail is not unique to this episode—we have already seen it implied by Euphratas's role as *parakoimomenos*—but, as F. Halkin has noted, most of the sources fail to make it explicit. That Euphratas's condition is emphasized suggests that it holds a specific meaning within the narrative.<sup>310</sup> It is worth noting, moreover, that Euphratas is presented as a rather elusive figure. Like the angels of Hagia Sophia, who appear and disappear mysteriously from the account, Euphratas makes a sudden appearance, fulfills a very specific purpose, and later vanishes. The main difference between Euphratas and the "eunuchs" of the legend of Hagia Sophia is, perhaps, the fact that the latter are eventually revealed as angels, while Euphratas is only depicted as "one of the eunuchs" (τις τῶν εὐνούχων) of Constantine's retinue. This, however, is not necessarily relevant, for the angel that appears to Justinian in dreams is simply presented as a palace eunuch "dressed in a golden cloth, in the manner of a *praepositos*" (εὐνούχον δέ τινα παρελθόντα ἑώρα, χρυσοῦφῃ μὲν περιβεβλημένον, πραιποσίτῳ δὲ τὴν ἀναβολὴν ὁμοιον), yet his angelic nature can be deduced from context. Does this imply that the author of the *Opitz Vita* intended to present Euphratas as an angel? We cannot offer a definite answer to this, but it seems clear that he drew his inspiration from the legendary accounts concerning Justinian's supernatural assistants and that he intentionally played with the symbology of the angelic nature attributed to eunuchs.<sup>311</sup>

What was, to conclude, the purpose of this tradition? The description of Constantine's conversion suggests a willingness to exalt the figure of Euphratas even to the detriment of Constantine himself. This confirms a tendency that we have already observed in previous episodes, though the notion of Euphratas's spiritual superiority is taken one step further. The *Opitz Vita* reformulates the old and well-established tradition that attributed the conversion of Constantine to the vision of the Cross, because in this new version of events the vision only takes place *after* Constantine had been made a Christian by Euphratas. The emblematic revelation in the sky, therefore, is no longer the

or Halkin, "L'empereur Constantin converti par Euphratas," 9–10 (French).

308 The account of the vision of the Cross and the victory over Maxentius, which I do not reproduce here due to its length, was drawn from Philostorgius (see Bidez, "Fragments nouveaux," 424–26; Halkin, "L'empereur Constantin converti par Euphratas," 13–14). The vision of the Cross is preceded by a second prayer of Constantine, which, according to Bidez, is a passage that does not belong to Philostorgius and was added along with the episode concerning Euphratas (see Bidez, "Fragments nouveaux," 433, n. 35).

309 *Opitz Vita* (ed. Halkin, 8). I follow the English translation by Lieu, "Transformation of Constantine's *Vita*," 163.

310 Halkin, "L'empereur Constantin converti par Euphratas," 6, n. 1. Halkin mentions this in connection with the *Vita Constantini* that he edited, but his remark can also be applied to most of the sources that attest Euphratas's deeds.

311 For Euphratas's role as an intermediary between heaven and earth, see Ringrose, *Perfect Servant*, 102–7.



sign that moves Constantine to faith, but only a divine confirmation of God's willingness to assist the already Christianized emperor. By converting Constantine, Euphratas was not only taking up a role that in most versions of the story was attributed to supernatural forces,<sup>312</sup> but also becoming a key element in the foundation of the Christian empire. In view of this, it was probably not by chance that the anonymous hagiographer chose to invest Euphratas's figure with subtle yet eloquent allusions to the angelic nature of eunuchs.

## Synthesis and Conclusions

The study of the legend of Euphratas, as evident from the previous analysis, encounters three major difficulties. First, the traditions were still highly fluid at the time they were recorded, which leads to the existence of diverse (and sometimes contradictory) versions of events that cloud our understanding of their meaning and role. Second, none of the existing sources preserves a comprehensive account of Euphratas's exploits, which makes it sometimes difficult to grasp the connection between the various episodes. Third, the date of the sources does not always correspond to the stage of development of the tradition that they attest, which blurs our perception of the legend's chronology.

Despite these various obstacles, the preceding discussion has allowed us to gather relevant information concerning the traditions within the legend, the formation of Euphratas's figure, and the strategies used to develop the existing narrative structures. Throughout the following pages, I will attempt to summarize the existing evidence to proceed, as a way of concluding, to approach the question that underlies this analysis—what was the meaning and role of the legend of Euphratas in the Byzantine Empire?

### *The Traditions within the Legend*

The available information reveals the existence of three major traditions within the legend of Euphratas, each of which presents a different facet of the figure.

1. *Euphratas among the twelve of Constantine*: The first tradition presents Euphratas as one of the "twelve"

assistants who helped Constantine found the city of Constantinople. He is depicted as the imperial parakoimomenos, which implies that he held the leading role within Constantine's inner circle of palace servants and had direct and privileged access to the emperor. As the list of the "twelve" that contains Euphratas's name dates from the tenth century, and he is not known to any source before that date, we may assume that this tradition did not emerge until at least the end of the ninth century.

2. *Euphratas, the architect of Constantinople*: The second tradition depicts Euphratas as the divinely inspired architect and urban planner of Constantinople. His activities are described in four different episodes: the interpretation of a divine sign that leads to the foundation of the city in the place chosen by God; the development of a program of civic, military, and religious architecture; the populating of the city by the resettlement of newcomers of diverse origin and status, among which were twelve Roman dignitaries; and the successful confrontation of the slander spread by those who envied his achievements. The oldest of these episodes can be traced back to the tenth century, so we can assume, once again, that they would not have emerged before the end of the ninth century. It is clear that they continued to develop throughout the middle Byzantine period.
3. *Euphratas, the emperor's spiritual adviser*: The third tradition presents Euphratas as responsible for Constantine's conversion to Christianity. Like the previous traditions, it is first attested during the tenth century, so it is unlikely that it appeared before the end of the ninth century.

What was the relationship between these traditions? The sources that preserve them are not the same in every case. The first tradition is only attested by patriographic literature (*Pat.* 1:58); the second is (mostly) attested by hagiographic and historiographic literature (Halkin Vita, Pseudo-Symeon, Kedrenos, Skoutariotes); and the third is attested by patriographic and hagiographic literature (*Pat.* 1:65, Opitz Vita). Is it possible, then, to see a connection between these various testimonies? If we cannot provide a definite answer, we can at least make a number of observations. First, we can see that the patriographers were familiar with Euphratas's role in the foundation of Constantinople, even if they do not develop this tradition to its fullest

312 Whether it was a vision of the Cross in the sky, a vision of the Cross in dreams, or a vision of Saints Peter and Paul, the different versions of the conversion almost invariably begin with a supernatural intervention.

extent (we only get a glimpse of it in *Pat.* 1:58, 1:65). Similarly, the authors that attest Euphratas's role in the foundation of the city (Halkin Vita, Pseudo-Symeon, Kedrenos, Skoutariotes) seem to have been familiar with the notion that Euphratas was a close servant of Constantine, even if they never depict him as a eunuch or a parakoimomenos. This suggests that these two facets of Euphratas's figure were closely connected, and perhaps originally part of a common tradition—and even a common source—that is only partially reproduced by the testimonies that have reached us.

The same, however, cannot be said about the third tradition. That the Opitz Vita, whose author was deeply interested in the legendary foundation narratives of Constantinople, does not make any reference to Euphratas's role as an architect is a clear indication that he did not know the first and second tradition. In a similar way, the fact that Pseudo-Symeon, Kedrenos, Skoutariotes, and, especially, the author of the Halkin Vita, who were interested in the particulars of Constantine's conversion, fail to reference Euphratas's intervention indicates that they did not know the third tradition. It is safe to assume, therefore, that this last tradition developed independently from the other two, though the similarities in the depiction of Euphratas (a court eunuch who acts as a mediator between heaven and earth) indicates that its author was familiar with the figure's role in Constantine's legendary foundation of Constantinople.<sup>313</sup>

That these three traditions developed almost in parallel (as suggested by their common circulation in the tenth century), and that there is little connection between some of their features, confirms that Euphratas's legend was being elaborated by several authors who reshaped and reformulated his figure according to their own interests and purposes. But were the different episodes of Euphratas's life ever articulated into a consistent narrative? We do not have any source that can attest to it, yet a brief passage from the *Patria* (1:65) reveals that—at least for those authors who came to know the three traditions—Euphratas's different features were thought to be connected.<sup>314</sup> On the basis

of this, it is worth attempting a purely hypothetical reconstruction of the sequence of events that integrated Euphratas's life (see appendix 3).

*First episode:* Euphratas converts Constantine to Christianity before the emperor's battle against Maxentius (third tradition).

*Second episode:* Euphratas assists Constantine in finding the right location for the foundation of his new capital (second tradition).

*Third episode:* Euphratas assists Constantine with the development of Constantinople (first and second tradition).

*Fourth episode:* Euphratas assists Constantine with the populating of Constantinople (first and second tradition).

*Fifth episode:* Euphratas defends himself successfully after being slandered before Constantine (second tradition).

*Sixth episode:* Euphratas builds a church and/or charitable foundation near the Dimakellon/Leomakellon (first and second tradition).<sup>315</sup>

*Seventh episode:* Euphratas passes away before or after<sup>316</sup> the death of Constantine (first and second traditions).<sup>317</sup>

Despite the suggestive testimony of the *Patria*, the internal logic of this sequence indicates that not all the existing episodes were actually meant to fit together. Some, as may be evident from the previous discussion, present an alternative, rather than a complementary, depiction of Euphratas. The most representative

313 This would imply that Euphratas's role in Constantine's conversion emerged after his role in the foundation of Constantinople was already in circulation, and not the other way around.

314 "He [Constantine] gave an order to his parakoimomenos [= first tradition], who had made Constantine a Christian [= second tradition], and he gave everyone his house [= second tradition]."

315 This episode, which would have developed originally within the first tradition (since the foundation of houses, churches, or charitable institutions, as we have seen above, was a common feature of Constantine's notables), was reformulated by the second tradition into an original initiative that was apparently envisaged to provide Euphratas with a final resting place.

316 The moment of Euphratas's death varies depending on the source.

317 The death of Euphratas pertains both to the first tradition (as it is connected to the building of a church/asylum in the region of Constantinople that probably played a role in the emergence of Euphratas's literary figure) and to the second tradition (as it is relevant to the construction of Hagia Sophia in "two stages"). Although the sources never define it as an episode on its own right, it is pertinent to present it as such for the purpose of clarity.

example is the fact that Euphratas's angelic nature (as implied by episodes one to five) is not consistent with Euphratas's death and burial in his church of the Theotokos (as stated in episode seven). The presence of these mutually exclusive features is a good indication of the coexistence of variant forms of interpreting Euphratas's figure within the heterogeneous corpus of the legend.

### *The Formation of Euphratas's Figure*

The complexity of Euphratas's figure is at least partly due to the numerous models that influenced, directly or indirectly, the way he was depicted and the role that he was said to have played. Some of these models can be recognized as strictly historical, while others are fictionalized or purely fictional ones. Among them we can identify the following:

#### HISTORICAL MODELS

*The chief eunuch Euphratas.* The most likely historical model behind Euphratas's legendary figure is the chief eunuch of the same name who served in the court of Justinian I. The transformation of the historical Euphratas into his literary counterpart would have taken place through one or two of the following strategies: the "appropriation" and fictionalization of his figure; the "recreation" of his figure on the basis of an existing toponym of Constantinople (*ta Euphrata*). In any of these cases, the choice of Euphratas's name was clearly guided by the antiquarianism by which the middle Byzantine authors of the legend attempted to situate it in Constantinian times.

*The philosopher Sopater.* It is possible that Euphratas's role as a legendary companion of Constantine was at least partly modeled on the historical figure of the philosopher Sopater, who was known to Byzantine authors as a close adviser to the historical Constantine and a co-developer of Constantinople.<sup>318</sup> That the somehow cherished figure of Sopater was killed under Constantine's orders seems to have cast a shadow over the otherwise flawless image of the first Christian emperor, so it seems reasonable to wonder whether the high-minded behavior of the fictional Constantine in the face of the legendary slander of Euphratas was

symbolically meant to lighten, by the means of fiction, the darkest areas of the historical record.

*The Middle Byzantine parakoimomenoi.* Although Euphratas's role as a leading palace eunuch was probably based on the historical figure that gave him his name, his specific middle Byzantine dignity of parakoimomenos must have necessarily had a different source of inspiration. Given that the legend of Euphratas would have arguably developed between the late ninth and tenth centuries, the most likely models were the contemporary parakoimomenoi—figures such as Basil the Nothos and Joseph Bringas, among others—whose titles epitomized the sense of authority, distinction, and privilege with which the authors of the legend would have wanted to invest the legendary figure of Euphratas. That the latter's title is one of the rare breaches of the authors' predominant antiquarianism is the best proof of their willingness to convey to a middle Byzantine audience the precise dimension of Euphratas's role in the imperial court.

#### LITERARY MODELS

*The prophet Daniel.* One of the literary figures that may have had a bearing in the development of Euphratas is the Metaphrastic Daniel, who, under the influence of Flavius Josephus, is similarly depicted as a palace eunuch, an interpreter of signs, and a royal architect. Given that Daniel's figure was under development at the same time as that of Euphratas, it is possible, and even likely, that there were mutual influences in the elaboration of each of these characters.

*The (fictional or fictionalized) builders.* In addition to Daniel's potential model as a royal architect, there are several fictional or fictionalized figures that may have served as a source of inspiration for Euphratas's role as the developer of Constantinople. The prefect Kyros, the general Belisarios,<sup>319</sup> Empress Theodora, and, most important, the architect Ignatios, were not only builders (in the wider sense of the term) but also figures whose exceptional architectural undertakings incurred the suspicion of the emperor. In addition, the legend of Euphratas subtly evokes the figures of the most famous biblical builders—King David and his

318 He was also connected (in a rather indirect way) with Constantine's conversion to Christianity, though it is not likely that this tradition had a bearing on Euphratas's legend.

319 Belisarios's undertakings were probably not developed yet in middle Byzantine times, but his case is relevant to illustrate the popularity and permanence of the literary trope.



son, King Solomon—who were, after all, the ultimate literary model for the depiction of an inspired architect.

*The eunuch-angels.* The last meaningful model for Euphratas's figure was the eunuch-angels that are recurrently attested in connection with Justinian I. Although Euphratas is never explicitly described as an angel, his mysterious origins, his role as a mediator between heaven and earth, and his timely intervention to assist an emperor in despair are reminiscent of the role played by eunuch-angels in other legendary accounts. By his actions as much as by his dignity as a palace eunuch, Euphratas consistently evokes an unearthly being.

### *The Legend's Narrative Development*

It remains to examine, finally, the way in which the traditions concerning Euphratas were shaped into the existing literary episodes. Interestingly, the available information allows us a glimpse of the dynamics that underlay the construction of a Byzantine legend and reveals that the greater part of it was not an original creation. We can identify two main strategies through which the legend took advantage of already circulating narratives.

In the first strategy, the figure of Euphratas was frequently merged into previously existing episodes. This could take place in two different ways. In one, Euphratas came to fill a void in the episode. This is the case, for instance, with Constantine's great architectural program, since it was clear that the emperor had not designed or directed the construction himself. Yet, since the "imperial architect" had never been named, Euphratas's figure was simply added to fill that vacant place. In the other, Euphratas replaced another figure. This is the case with the interpretation of the divine sign that reveals the right location for Constantinople and the relocation of the Roman notables to the new city, in which Euphratas replaced Constantine as the main actor of the narrative.

In the second strategy, the figure of Euphratas was the object of a new literary development inspired by an existing model. This was the case, for instance, in Euphratas's building of Hagia Sophia (which evokes Ignatios rebuilding of the same church and, less directly, the building of the temple of Jerusalem by the kings David and Solomon), in the slander of Euphratas (which evokes the conflicts of Darius, Kyros, Ignatios, Theodora, Belisarios, and Sopater with various rulers), and in the conversion of Constantine (which recalls

the role of the eunuch-angels that repeatedly assisted Emperor Justinian in his time of need).



What, ultimately, was the significance of the legend of Euphratas? As suggested above, the existing traditions are to be considered upon the interests, beliefs, and expectations of different authors—patriographers, hagiographers, and chroniclers—who contributed to it by expanding, elaborating, or reshaping Euphratas's deeds. But, despite their different—and sometimes contradictory—formulations, all authors reveal the same essential interest in enhancing the glory of Constantine the Great, and, most particularly, the glory of the city of Constantinople. To a great extent, the legend of Euphratas plays the role of a foundation narrative, one that elaborates the symbolic dimension of the new capital by sacralizing its origins and revealing its divinely decreed destiny. Euphratas's deeds were not, in that sense, an isolated literary product, but rather a further expression of a consistent middle Byzantine effort to rewrite the history of Constantinople. Contemporary narratives, such as the legend of the apostle Saint Andrew, whose (fictional) Christianization of ancient Byzantium was meant to invest the empire's capital with the prestige and authority of an apostolic see, were undoubtedly motivated by the same spirit that gave rise to the legend of Euphratas.

In essence, this legend would have been intended to highlight the divine guidance behind Constantine's imperial designs. The emperor chosen by God, we are led to believe, was in need of assistance to accomplish the role that he was meant to play in the emergence of the Christian empire, and this assistance came in the figure of his mysterious servant Euphratas. It was thanks to Euphratas, as we have seen, that Constantine was introduced to the Christian faith,<sup>320</sup> and it was

320 It is worth noting that the conversion of Constantine and the divine order to build the city of Constantinople appear connected in middle Byzantine accounts of his reign. According to the *Halkin Vita*, Pseudo-Symeon, Kedrenos (who presents an incomplete version of events), and Skoutariotes, Constantine was ordered to build a new city in the dream that followed the vision of the Cross at the Milvian Bridge. Although the tradition of Constantine's conversion by Euphratas would have emerged independently from the one of Euphratas's role in the foundation of Constantinople, it is possible that its author knew and perhaps even found inspiration in

also thanks to Euphratas that Constantine was able to found the empire's new Christian capital. Constantine's repeated need of his servant's divinely inspired wisdom is clearly intended to define the extraordinary nature of Euphratas, who is presented as spiritually superior to Constantine himself. But how could anyone be spiritually superior to the first Christian emperor, who by the middle Byzantine period was formally recognized as a saint? The answer lies probably in the various veiled yet meaningful evocations of the "eunuch-angels" who are well attested as interceding in favor of the ruling emperor by the decision of God.

It must be recalled, at this point, that the intervention of angels in human affairs—and especially in architectural enterprises—is well attested in Byzantine literature. According to the legend of Hagia Sophia, the angels revealed to Justinian the construction plan and the name of the church, taught the construction techniques to the workmen, corrected the design of the building, made the extraordinary altar of the church, and became its long-lasting protectors.<sup>321</sup> The same motif is present in the legend of Constantine, which affirms that an angel (that no one but the emperor could see) demarcated the perimeter of the first land wall of Constantinople.<sup>322</sup> In certain cases—as we

have noted with the angels who assisted Justinian with the construction of Hagia Sophia or interceded to help him recover his health—the angelic forces adopted the appearance of palace eunuchs. But is this enough evidence to assume that the eunuch Euphratas was understood as having a heavenly nature? The answer is difficult, because, as noted above, the legend was clearly developed by several authors who added different features, nuances, and symbolic dimensions to Euphratas's eclectic figure. However, it seems safe to assert that, at least for most authors, Euphratas was seen as a figure that oscillated between heaven and earth. The symbolism of this characterization—well in line with the features of foundation narratives—was deeply important for the sacralization of Constantinople. It implied, after all, that the empire's capital—both New Rome and New Jerusalem—had been founded by Saint Constantine and the "apostolic twelve" under the guidance of a heavenly envoy.<sup>323</sup>

IMHICIHU-CONICET  
Saavedra 15–5° piso  
C1083ACA - Capital Federal  
Argentina  
victoria.gerhold@conicet  
.gov.ar

the existing link between the conversion and the foundation of the Christian capital.

321 *Diegesis* 8, 12; K. Ciggaar, "Une description anonyme de Constantinople du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle," *REB* 31 (1973): 335–54, at 339; Halkin Vita, 104–5; Delatte, *Anecdota Atheniensia*, 1:299–312, at 309–10; Banescu, "Un récit en grec vulgaire," 156. As L. Brubaker has noted, the angels of the *Diegesis* play the role of sanctifying the church of Hagia Sophia (L. Brubaker, "Talking about the Great Church: Ekphrasis and the *Narration on Hagia Sophia*," *BSL* 69, no. 3 [2011]: 80–87, at 83–84). The intervention of angels (or angel-like figures, such as Euphratas) in the foundation of Constantinople would have played a similar role.

322 According to the patriographers, "When Constantine the Great wanted to build the city and had to lay the foundations and to measure out the city, he went out on foot with his great men. And when he came to the Forum, the officials said to him: 'End the wall here.' But he said: 'As long as the one who goes before me does

not stop, I will not set the foundations.' For he alone saw the angel. And when he had walked on foot with the whole senate as far as the Exakionion, he saw there how the angel planted his sword, thus indicating that he would stop there. And therefore he set up the wall in that place" (*Pat.* 3:10). A similar version is by Philostorgius (J. Bidez, *Philostorgius*, 2:9a) and the Opitz Vita 37 (567).

323 In Philostorgius and the Opitz Vita, Constantine's delimitation of the perimeter of Constantinople guided by an angel is explicitly meant to put the foundation of Constantinople on an equal footing with the foundation of "old" Jerusalem: "Thus it is clear that there seemed to be an angel going in front (of Constantine) and indicating the measurements, since the project of founding the city was entirely pleasing to God, no less than that of Jerusalem of old. And indeed he was in the act of establishing here as well a public table of faith" (Bidez, *Philostorgius*, 2:9a; English translation by Amidon, *Philostorgius*, 25; Opitz Vita, 567).

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## Appendix 1. Episodes and Sources of Euphratas's Legend

Tentative Order	Episodes	Sources
1.	Euphratas converts Constantine to Christianity	<i>Pat. 1</i>
		Opitz Vita
2.	Euphratas helps Constantine to find the right location for Constantinople	Pseudo-Symeon
		Kedrenos
		Halkin Vita
		Skoutariotes
3.	Euphratas assists Constantine with development of Constantinople	<i>Pat. 1</i>
		Pseudo-Symeon
		Kedrenos
		Halkin Vita
		Skoutariotes
4.	Euphratas assists Constantine with populating Constantinople	<i>Pat. 1</i>
		Halkin Vita
5.	Euphratas is slandered before Constantine	Halkin Vita
6.	Euphratas privately builds a church and/or charitable foundation	Pseudo-Symeon
		Halkin Vita
		Skoutariotes
7.	Death of Euphratas	Pseudo-Symeon
		Halkin Vita

## Appendix 2. Comparative Lists of Constantine's Notables

Names	Sources				
	<i>Pat. 1:58</i>	<i>Pat. 1:63</i>	<i>Synaxarion</i>	Glykas	Skoutariotes
Addas		×			
Anthimos			×		
Armatios			×		×
Dareios		×			
Domninos		×			
Eleusios	×				
Euboulos		×	×	×	×
Eugenios				×	×
Euphratas	×				
Eustorgios	×				
Eutropios	×				
Eutychianos	×				
Hesychius	×				
Honoresios	×				
Isidoros	×		×	×	×
Kallistratos			×	×	×
Marianos			×	×	<x> <sup>1</sup>
Mauros		×			
Michael	×				
Modestos		×			
Olybrios	×		×	×	×
Ourbikios	×		×	×	×
Paulinos			×		
Philoxenos		×			
Phlorentios			×	×	×
Probos		×			
Protasios		×			
Rhodanos		×			
Salloustios		×			
Sampson			×		
Severos			×	×	×
Skombros		×			
Stoudios			×	×	×
Troilos	×				
Veros			×	×	×
Zotikos			×	×	

<sup>1</sup> Lit. Maurianos.



Appendix 3. Timeline of Euphratas's Life

